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Albania: Berisha Reportedly Refuses To Meet U.S. Official

AU2007183496 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 20 Jul 96 p 1

[Report by E. Barci: "Berisha Slams the Door in the United States' Face—'I Have No Time To Meet Wirth!'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] President Berisha yesterday refused to meet U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Timothy Wirth, turning relations with the United States into personal spite. The U.S. Embassy in Tirana said "No comment" in connection with the truth of this report, while Mr. Underwood, the U.S. State Department official responsible for Albania, confirmed for us that "it is true that a meeting between Albanian President Sali Berisha and Assistant Secretary of State Wirth was not realized yesterday." Underwood was unwilling to explain further about the reasons for the failure to carry out the meeting. Sources in Washington who preferred to remain anonymous say that Wirth's visit to Albania was an initiative of the U.S. Administration and had been seen as a part of the senior U.S. official's tour of Europe this week. The Albanian stage of Wirth's itinerary, however, fell through. The sources explain that President Berisha informed Mr. Wirth on the telephone last Thursday [18 July] that he had no time to meet him because he was busy with very important business. Let us remember that Wirth was in Albania only two months ago, shortly before the elections. During his visit to Tirana, he met all the main political forces and also had a private meeting with President Berisha lasting several hours. It was Assistant Secretary of State Wirth himself who announced after his meeting with Berisha that "the Albanian president promised me that the elections of 26 May will be entirely free and democratic." However, the elections on 26 May turned into a farce, and the U.S. Administration has so far taken an extremely critical stand toward the Tirana regime.

Berisha's confrontational attitude toward the United States is nothing new. Two years ago, Mr. Schifter, the deputy chairman of the U.S. National Security Council, was the first senior U.S. official to feel the weight of the door of Berisha's office slammed in his face. Having arrived on U.S. Government's instructions to mediate in the problem of the five imprisoned members of the minority, during his second visit to Tirana, instead of holding discussions with Berisha, he was shown the road to Rinas. Particularly since the elections, the progovernment press has continued to publish savage attacks on Mr. Schifter.

Now it seems that Wirth is suffering the same fate. It is certain that President Berisha's large amount of "work" cannot be the reason for canceling the meeting. It suffices to remember that Berisha has met secretaries of associations from Africa, Asia, and Latin America who do not have the slightest influence. This decision of Berisha appears to be a sign of pathological spite against the American "enemy," who has declared war on the dictatorship that was established on 26 May. One thing is certain: The U.S. diplomat would have brought Berisha face to face with the United States' criticisms of the elections and would have asked in the name of the U.S. Government for the elections to be repeated. After this refusal, it is not hard to foresee the climate of bilateral relations, which not even the presence of the U.S. Marines at Bize will be able to ameliorate.

Albania: Joint Military Exercises With U.S. End

AU2107163096 Tirana ATA in English 1853 GMT 20 Jul 96

[By F. Vladi]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, JULY 20 (ATA)—A ceremony was organised on Saturday in Bize, Tirana, marking the end of the "Peaceful Eagle '96" multinational exercises organised by Albania and the United States.

Present at the ceremony were the Albanian Defence Minister Safet Zhulali, senior officers from Albania and other participating countries.

Chief of the General Staff, General Sheme Kosova addressing the participants said, "In this exercise we partners feel ourselves equal to you (NATO members) and this is due to the Partnership for Peace initiative." "You...introduced another symbol of peace in the region," General Kosova said.

The participating countries were Albania, the United States, Bulgaria, Greece, Italy, Romania, Turkey, Former Republic of Macedonia and Slovenia, which had the status of observer.

General Kosova thanked the U.S. General Jacki Nix and co-commanders of the exercise for its success.

General Nix said in his address that during a five-day exercise "our ability to work together and understand each other was further extended." He said that the model of Bosnia was applied in this exercise "because facing a troubled world, multinational operations seemed likely to be undertaken."

"We clearly demonstrated the effective cooperation and inter-operation of a modern and well-trained multinational force," General Nix said.

Some 2,000 troops took part in this exercise which is the largest one in the Balkans so far. Troops were grouped

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in a multinational brigade which includes two battalions, one Albanian-American and the other Italian. Each battalion has four companies. The platoons included troops of one country. During five days, the troops launched joint operations of peacekeeping character.

This is the largest exercise organised in the framework of Partnership for Peace in Albania and the fourth multinational one for the Albanian army.

A memorial devoted to "Peaceful Eagle '96" with flags of participating countries was inaugurated in Bize.

Albania: Berisha's Use of U.S. Greek Lobby as 'Alibi' Criticized

AU2007172596 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 19 Jul 96 p 3

[Commentary by Vladimir Prela: "Athens: Berisha Beware"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Anybody following relations in the Balkans would in fact have expected an earlier reaction from Athens over the anti-Greek atmosphere created before and especially after the 26 May elections. It is now six weeks since the official Albanian media, first in the speeches of Democratic Party bosses and latterly even in the statements of civil servants, have been spreading anti-Greek attitudes that have put Greece in a difficult position and have humiliated the Greek diaspora in the United States.

Curiously, the Greek Government, although sensitive like every Balkan state to these problems and especially sensitive to any insult to Hellenism, has been resisting the pressure of the press. It only reacted when President Berisha and his most distinguished foreign-policy adviser publicly announced that the entire responsibility for the objections to the 26 May elections and the criticisms at Tirana's expense from Europe and Washington must be laid at the door of the representatives of the nationalist wing of the Greek lobby in the United States, which accounts for about 3 million people. The Greek lobby is thus the "initiator" of the deterioration of Albania's relations with the United States and the countries of Europe. Only yesterday, the Greek Government spokesman Repas called on Tirana not to entangle Greece and the Greeks in its internal problems. In a short statement issued at a normal briefing for journalists, Repas recommended the Albanian president "to think hard and to accept and confront events at home, instead of attempting to head off accusations against himself with the help of denunciations of Greeks living in other countries."

The zigzags of Berisha's policy toward Greece are well known. They have their own history and are an example of the familiar phenomenon in the postcommunist world of appealing to patriotism at times of difficulty. These zigzags have also been characteristic of the Democratic Party's foreign policy and also simply of the personal spite of our president, who has been bitterly attacked and insulted on all sides by the Greek press. No doubt this new anti-Greek campaign and this appeal to national pride is connected with the crisis in which the Sali Berisha's foreign policy now finds itself.

However, the most curious aspects of this "patriotic inflation" on the part of official propaganda is that, having left behind Slavo-communism, it has turned on the United States. We are today not only dealing with an Albanian-Greek affair, but above all with a U.S.-Albanian problem. The statements of our officials and the comments of the press that is close to the presidency appear to be assaults against individual people, but this does not prevent the outlines of an anti-American policy becoming clearly evident. The absence of senior officials on the United States' Independence Day, direct or indirect statements attacking the U.S. Administration, and the recent articles in the newspaper ALBANIA, especially the attacks on the U.S. diplomats in Tirana, leave no doubt of this.

Of course, nobody can deny that the Greek lobby is struggling to influence the U.S. legislative and executive institutions in favor of Greece and Hellenism. Nor would anybody deny that Berisha is defending the Albanian diaspora in the United States and the Albanian nation's work on behalf of the national question. Nevertheless, nobody is so naive as to mention the Greek lobby or the Albanian lobby in the same breath as the Israeli lobby. Perhaps the 3 million U.S. citizens of Greek origin who live today in the United States could succeed in shaping U.S. policy toward Greece, but they can never determine U.S.-Albanian relations.

It is worth remembering here what Henry Kissinger wrote in his memoirs. Although a German and a Jew, he never trifled with the interests of the United States. Even when Germany or even more Israel were under discussion, it was the United States above everything else, because this is the motto of every American, regardless of his origin. That is what this politician says, having acquired U.S. citizenship at the age of 20.

Thus the alibi Berisha has found to discount the world's objections to the elections ends in an absurdity. There is no question that it cannot in any way be the fault of the Greek lobby or of U.S. policy if the new government has not been recognized either de facto or de jure by the governments of the West. Even though a diplomatic formula may be found to say that the parliament has been recognized, this does not mean that the government

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is also inevitably recognized. This of course enormously complicates Berisha's game with the Greek lobby and the U.S. politicians this lobby has "bought."

There is a danger of tactics of this kind coming to a ludicrous end, also because the U.S. administration has never declared the Albanian administration to be hostile and Albania is not included on the list of hostile countries. On the country, the U.S. administration has done everything possible to separate its objections to the irregularities and its demands for respect for the democratic contest from Washington's desire for good and even close relations with Albania.

Berisha's habit of alternately blowing hot and cold in his relations with Greece will no doubt not work in anything like the same way with the United States, but will meet a speedy end. What is important for the Albanians is that this end should not be at their cost. The battle of David and Goliath reminds the Albanians of those 50 years of absurdity, and they are not willing to repeat then for the sake of anybody, not even the president of their own republic.

Albania: Commentary Criticizes Berisha's 'Anti-Americanism'

AU1907123496 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 18 Jul 96 p 12

[Report by F. Caka: "In the Service of Berisha, Against the Cause of Kosova"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Recently, since the bloody elections of 26 May, the progovernment media in Albania, led by the head of state, have begun to display an open anti-Americanism of the same kind as during the years of the Albanian Workers Party, which testifies to the continuity of the communist mentality in the minds of several ruling politicians. After the bitter "riposte" of our president, who reminded the United States that even presidential candidates are murdered there and implied that the United States should therefore shut up about what happened in Albania in May, the "long arms" of the president in the shape of the newspaper ALBANIA and the "national" television network have turned on U.S. politicians, telling them what they should do and with whom they should keep company.

Last Saturday and Sunday [13 and 14 July], ALBANIA mounted a mass campaign against several congressmen and other U.S. politicians: "Schifter, Ceka, Imami: Three People United by Spite Against Berisha." "Schifter's association with two Albanian politicians" who were "spawned by quarrels with Berisha," are quotations from last Saturday's ALBANIA. Because the whingeing of this small-circulation paper would not be heard by "all Albania," this article, which took on the task of "discrediting the United States" was also read out on television. Viewers were shocked by this communist "courage" and were right not to believe their ears. ALBANIA is directly targetting the White House! And over what? Out of spite over 26 May, to spite the opposition, and to defend the presidential seat. As if to get the matter fully out of its system, ALBANIA resumed play again on the following day. Having earlier attacked Congressman Tom Lantos, the paper launched into other U.S. congressmen such as Hoyer, Porter, and Lang. Why? Because they support the Albanian opposition, which is their democratic right, because they take part in the activities of the Greek diaspora, which is also their right, and because they are against what happened in Albania on 26 and 28 May, whereas the fortunate thing is that they do not embrace Milosevic and others like him and that they keep company with Albanians rather than with the Serbian lobby.

Who are these U.S. politicians that are under attack? Let us remind the authors of these articles and their patrons about just one of them, Congressman Tom Lantos.

Look at these photographs. They show the visit by a U.S. Congress delegation to Kosova in 1990, headed by none other than Tom Lantos. He was received by Rugova and the other Kosovar leaders and was welcomed by the Albanians of Prishtina and all Kosova despite the violence used against them on that day. The U.S. delegation had an opportunity to see with its own eyes what had been happening in Kosova for decades. The streets of Prishtina resounded with cries of "U.S.A." and "Free Kosova." It was at that time that the song came out, "Mother, do not be afraid, because you have sons in America...." Even more, it was none other than Congressman Tom Lantos who was the sole U.S. politician to travel from Prishtina to Tirana, not by air, but via Kukes, thus uniting a divided land by a symbolic journey. He has continued to work in the defense of the Albanian national cause, in Tirana and in the United States. But we will not go on at length. What we have said is enough for those who do not know or do not want to know who Congressman Tom Lantos is. He is now an "enemy of the party" alongside many other U.S. politicians who are equal well-wishers of the Albanian cause. But he can never be an enemy of Albania, because Albania is much bigger than a party, an official post, or a newspaper.

The work of Congressman Tom Lantos and of other U.S. congressmen and senators and politicians from the United States and Europe is in one sense an investment of the blood that has been shed in Kosova and of the myriad sacrifices of the Kosovar Albanians in the United States, Europe, and Kosova, as well as those

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of the Albanian political leadership in Kosova. This investment cannot be scorned or wiped out with a stroke of the pen.

Yet this is what happens when "defeat" blurs your common sense.

Albania: Shamata Promises 'Human Face' for Interior Ministry

AU1907123396 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian 18 July 96 p 3

[Interview with Interior Minister Halit Shamata by Rezear Xhaxhiu in Tirana on 17 July: "An Anticrime Committee Soon"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "This is how I will give a human face to the ministry in my charge...." Thus speaks the new interior minister, appointed to his post a mere five days ago. Interior Minister Shamata confessed to us a few of his secrets about the planned restructuring of his ministry, which will be based on professionalism and dedication. Aparently, creating a national committee for the struggle against crime will be the new minister's prime strategy.

[Xhaxhiu] What does taking over such a sensitive post mean for you?

[Shamata] It really means a great responsibility that will require every investment I can make both within and beyond my abilities. This ministry involves a great burden and incessant tension. However, I will work in accordance with all the Albanian legislation and above all the Constitutional Law in order to consolidate this ministry as a constitutional institution.

[Xhaxhiu] What will be Shamata's first steps as minister?

[Shamata] Everything will start with becoming acquainted with the situation and the ministerial structures, which means above all improving the standard of management, and bringing in educated people with professional skills.

[Xhaxhiu] Is there anything that needs repairing from Musaraj's period in office?

[Shamata] This is a period of change, and I would not talk about repairing the work of my predecessor but about taking further steps to establish public order and calm.

[Xhaxhiu] What will be the primary areas on which Shamata will make his impact?

[Shamata] My priority will be a human face for this ministry, and I think that in this ministry the law and the constitution are the basis of humanism.

[Xhaxhiu] The resolution of the Council of Europe states that Albania must restructure its police force. How would you comment on the European suggestion?

[Shamata] This is not merely a European suggestion but an absolute need to enable this institution to function and to consolidate itself. For me, restructuring means creating appropriate structures to cope with new circumstances, new forms of crime, and Albania's opening to the world.

[Xhaxhiu] What will the new minister do to combat such phenomena as drugs, prostitution, and professional crime, which have recently been taking root?

[Shamata] I would think of this task in three phases. I will act forcefully to prevent, detect, and counteract these crimes, However, I favor creating a broad platform against crime. I suggested in the government's program that Albania should have a national committee for the struggle against crime. This committee must be at ministerial level, and have its platform and structures.

[Xhaxhiu] It often happens that people detained by the police are released by the procurator and the courts. How will you set about resolving this dangerous contradiction?

[Shamata] It is indeed a disturbing phenomenon. Within their responsibilities, the police have succeeded in detaining people who have broken the law, especially in recent years. However, the paradox comes when in the judiciary in the majority of cases either releases these people or rests content with their comfortable house arrest. I would suggest a permanent discussion forum involving the procurator general, the justice minister, and the chairman of the Court of Cassation, as part of the platform of the struggle against crime.

[Xhaxhiu] Will the new minister renew the ministry staff?

[Shamata] Renewal does not involve a new minister, but means each person facing up to his duties and responsibilities. This, to my mind, is the argument for renewal.

[Xhaxhiu] Shamata the poet and Shamata the interior minister—how can these two coexist in one person?

[Shamata] I would say that my aesthetic faculties are maturing, but, because of much more important responsibilities, I regret to say that I am forced to undergo a kind of divorce from myself. I do not know how long this state of affairs will continue.

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Albania: Government Fails To Ratify Human Rights Convention

AU2207101996 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 20 Jul 96 p 4

[Report by Emin Barci: "The Democratic Party Outside Europe"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Albanian state has broken every deadline for the ratification of the European Convention of Human Rights. Albania's admission to the Council of Europe on 29 June last year was a concession involving four conditions for Berisha's government. Besides asking for the country to be provided with a constitution as soon as possible and for the removal of the death penalty, the Council of Europe asked Tirana to ratify the European Convention of Human Rights within one year. The ratification of this convention, among other things, creates the opportunity for all Albanian citizens who are dissatisfied with the justice offered by the courts at home to appeal to the court in Strasbourg, whose decisions are binding on all countries who sign the convention. However, the Democratic Party [PD] has dragged its feet as much as possible over the ratification of this convention. In March, during the last week of the previous parliament, the Socialist Party [PS] parliamentary group presented to the People's Assembly Presidium a bill for the ratification of the convention, which the PD's parliamentary group did not accept. According to Ali Spahia, the reason was the final date set by the Council of Europe. Although the Socialists insisted that the deadline expired on 29 June, the date when Albania was admitted as a member of the Assembly of the Council of Europe, the Democrats calculated the date from the ratification of membership by the Council of Ministers of the Council of Europe on 13 July 1995. Ali Spahia had promised the ratification of the convention before the anniversary of this date, but there is still nothing visible on the horizon. Following the Council of Europe's resolution about the 26 May elections issued three weeks ago, the British Lord Finsberg, deputy chairman of the Political Commission, told Albanian journalists that the Council of Europe is waiting for Albania to meet the conditions set by the Council last year. However, the lord is perhaps waiting in vain during these hot days, because the Albanian parliament has no intention of dealing with European conventions.

We turned to PS Deputy Chairman Namik Dokle to ask about the fate of the convention. "The stand of the PS is now well known. Berisha's deputies have on their desks our bill to ratify the convention," he said, leaving the ball entirely in the PD's court.

Democratic Alliance leader Neritan Ceka looked beyond this immediate problem. According to him, the convention is not being ratified on purpose by a clique of leaders who are not genuinely interested in integration in Europe. "Europe is merely a facade for these people," Ceka said. It is not known what attitude the Council of Europe will take toward Albania over the problems created by the 26 May elections and Albania's failure to meet the conditions of membership. Will Albania be expelled from the Council of Europe or suspended? We put this question to both Ceka and Dokle. "I do not see expulsion as a solution," Ceka said. According to him, the best way would be for the Council of Europe to lay down a timetable for the obligations it has set. Nor did the Socialist Dokle think that expelling Albania from the Council of Europe could force Berisha and his regime to sign the convention.

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Bulgaria: DPS Official on Antigovernment Mood in Rhodopes

AU1907140596 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 19 Jul 96 pp 1-2

[Article by Petya Teneva: "DPS Will Incite Revolts in the Rhodopes"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The DPS [Movement for Rights and Freedoms] should take control of the antigovernment revolts that are coming to a head in the Rhodopes, Mohammed Redjeb, DPS coordinator for southeastern Bulgaria, is reported to have suggested.

His proposal was made in a report submitted to the DPS Central Executive Bureau following his tour of the villages of Kurdzhali to consult with DPS activists. Recently, Ahmed Dogan predicted that the attack on the cabinet will be launched following the presidential elections. In the villages, however, discontent is growing and can no longer be restrained, Redjeb claims in his report. He stresses that it would be enough "to strike a match, and the eastern Rhodopes will be submerged in revolts."

The DPS official further warns that a new wave of emigration is affecting the Rhodopes. According to his report, "in many villages the wells have dried up and the tobacco harvest will be very poor."

"No one has the right to play with fire," Kurdzhali Police Chief Colonel Zlatko Pilev warned in an official written statement yesterday.

The region is receiving the required amounts of flour, but there are suspicions that it is distributed selectively in certain municipalities. It emerged yesterday that problems exist in the villages of Pripek and Avren, which have DPS mayors. Special police officers are also investigating why the border guards have been refused flour.

Bulgaria: DPS Spokesman on Possible Protests in Rhodopes

AU2207095396 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 20 Jul 96 p 4

[Article by Plamen Petkov: "DPS Will Not Provoke Revolt Alone"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Sofia—The DPS [Rights and Freedoms Movement] will only initiate radical protest actions after coordinating them with the entire opposition. DPS Organizational Secretary Osman Oktay announced this in connection with the statements made by Mohammed Redjeb, the DPS coordinator for southeastern Bulgaria, regarding forthcoming revolts in the Rhodopes. Any independent protests are harmful to the opposition, Oktay believes. Mohammed Redjeb's report, in which he warned of coming hunger strikes in many Bulgarian Muslim villages, had not reached DPS headquarters in Sofia the day before yesterday. However, mayors in the Rhodopes confirmed that bread is short in many settlements, cattle were being killed, the tobacco crop is poor, and the wave of migration has started again. Kurdzhali Police Chief Colonel Zlatko Iliev tried to refute this information in an official statement, in which he claimed that the region was receiving regular flour supplies.

Bulgaria: Intrigue Against DPS Leader Dogan Reported

AU2207094896 Sofia 168 CHASA in Bulgarian 22-28 Jul 96 No 29, p 13

[Article by Ivan Tropankev: "Dogan's Chickens Will Come Home To Roost in the Autumn"]

[FBIS Translated Text] At the initiative of Guner Tahir, deputy chairman of the DPS [Movement for Rights and Freedoms] Parliamentary Group and DPS chief in Razgrad, DPS leaders met in the National Assembly on 18 July and decided to overthrow Dogan. At an extraordinary meeting of the DPS Central Council and Parliamentary Group in mid-September, they hope to compel Dogan to resign voluntarily. To neutralize any possible resistance on his part, they decided to propose Dogan's close associate Kasim Dal as the new party leader. Dal was a political prisoner and officiated at Dogan's previous wedding. In January 1994, as DPS deputy leader responsible for national security issues, he was personally authorized by Dogan to represent him as his first deputy.

The new DPS leadership is reportedly to consist of five persons. Kasim Dal's deputies are to be National Assembly Deputies Guner Tahir and Mehmed Beytulla, as representatives of the "north," and Gyulbie Receb and the Bulgarian Muslim Ayrush Hadji representing the "south."

DPS Organizational Secretary Osman Oktay, who was earmarked for removal, is reportedly to retain his post, because he and Sherife Mustafa dissociated themselves from Dogan and decided to support the young ones. Sherife is supposed to get the post of DPS district chairman in Plovdiv. Dogan's close associate Yunal Lyutfi is not to be given a leading post, but in compensation is reportedly to be offered a diplomatic post in the Middle East.

The young leaders have been preparing an attack against Dogan for some time. To lull him into a false sense of security, they are reported to have given Dogan's

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men leading posts in Shumen, Silistra, and Kurdzhali, but, in actual fact, the removed local leaders are said to have preserved their influence. At the same time, the young leaders have strengthened their positions in Razgrad, Dobrich, and Blagoevgrad. When Dogan demonstratively removed Guner Tahir as DPS deputy leader, the young leaders did not react, although they had time to prepare to do so, because they were tipped off by one of Dogan's men. Accordingly, they created the false impression that they were losing the battle.

Guner Tahir, like most of the young leaders in the DPS, enjoys the trust of the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces]. The SDS leaders have disliked Dogan for a long time due to his collaboration with the Socialists and Zhelev and secretly welcome the attack on him. It is assumed that Turkey will also support Dogan's replacement by Kasim Dal, because the Bulgarian Muslim emigrants there suspect Dogan of having links with the former secret services.

Bulgaria: OSD Leadership Demands Videnov Resignation

AU2207124496 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 22 Jul 96 pp 1-2

[Article by Valeriya Veleva: "Videnov's Resignation Demanded Also Within the BSP"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On 21 July, the Alliance for Social Democracy [OSD] Political Council held a meeting at which it demanded the replacement of Zhan Videnov as party leader and prime minister.

A document titled "Bulgaria's Political Situation and the Alternative We Propose" points out that "a new policy and new government" is the only solution to the country's crisis. Within one month, the OSD leadership will propose a paper that will create the macroframework of a program-minimum on urgently taming the situation in the country. "We have never supported personnel changes as a goal in itself, but now they are imperative," people in the OSD are saying. There are three hazards if the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] rejects the political dialogue: A total fiasco of the BSP government, BSP's disappearance from the political scene, and losing the presidential elections, Rosen Karadimov warned. According to Andrey Bundzhulov, the crisis within the party itself is the basic reason for the crisis in the government. "Would anyone explain what is going on in the BSP? Could anyone explain those plenums that are being postponed through the telephone? Are we not able to see that there is a deliberate course toward foiling the BSP's candidate in the presidential elections?" Viza Nedyalkova asked.

Other OSD members asked "what does it mean that the BSP is ruling well? Does it mean that 'our people' are all right or that Bulgaria is all right?" They received no answer to those questions.

Leaders of OSD local branches demanded the immediate replacement of Videnov and the initiation of constitutional steps aimed at forming a new cabinet. Dimitur Yonchev reported that the "Marxist Alternative" has submitted a document containing a similar request to the BSP Supreme Council. No one expressed any doubt regarding the fact that the new government must be formed by the Democratic Left. However, it must be capable of putting the situation under control.

Rosen Karadimov said that he opposes an extraordinary congress because the danger exists of the apparatus preparing it and changing its main theme—the adoption of a new policy. Videnov could be replaced also by other party mechanisms.

After the meeting yesterday, the OSD leaders are afraid that No. 20 Positano Street [BSP's headquarters] will accuse them of committing "deadly sins." "We cannot rely on anyone's mercy. War is war," Dimitur Yonchev said.

Aleksandur Lilov, Aleksandur Marinov, the entire BSP Executive Bureau, trade union representatives, and public figures were invited to the meeting of the OSD Political Council. Iskra Baeva was the only one in the BSP leadership who showed respect for her colleagues and attended the meeting.

Bulgaria: Possible OSD 'Revolt' Against Videnov Viewed

AU2207124796 Sofia STANDART NEWS in Bulgarian 22 Jul 96 p 1

[Commentary by Yuri Velev: "Is There a Chance of an OSD Revolt?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Kyuranov's people in the Alliance for Social Democracy [OSD] have called for the leader to be overthrown. This is the first open revolt in the Socialists' ranks. Before this, numerous leaders demanded Videnov's head, but later either denied it or fell silent. One was left with an impression of murky political and other deals within the same circle of friends.

Now, the OSD members have finally bit the bullet and stated bitter truths about Videnov's policies—things that everyone can see anyway. However, how do they plan to kick out the government? The prime minister ignores all reproaches in resolute silence. His party fellows are hardly likely to launch an attack on him, because, before the elections, the only word on their lips is unity. They

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will hardly understand the OSD's argument that it is healthier for party elections to precede the presidential ones. However, inertia leads to nothing good. Anyone who disbelieves this should remember Filip Dimitrov and his SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] cabinet. History is known for repeating itself.

Bulgaria: BSP Supreme Council Picks Candidate for Vice President

AU2207120896 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 22 Jul 96 p 7

["Resolution Adopted at Session of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party" in Sofia on 20 July: "Together for Bulgaria"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The forthcoming elections for a president of the Republic of Bulgaria are of especial importance for the entire life of the country in the coming years and for the manner in which Bulgaria will enter the next century.

Our society is about to choose the person who is to lead us out of the vicious circle of fruitless confrontation that has been blocking political life and economic recovery for seven years. It must choose the person who is to make a start on stabilizing the institutions of state and ensuring their constructive cooperation, and finally provide a real chance for society to overcome the fatal confrontation and to make space for constructive forces and initiatives.

The Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] unequivocally declares its support for this creative alternative in our further development as a society and a country. In accordance with this concept, it nominates a president and vice president with a platform based on lasting national interests and goals. This priority is fully in conformance with the constitutional essence of the presidential institution and is one of the most important characteristics of the BSP as a leading political force with a sense of national responsibility.

A new approach to the presidential institution will stimulate the policy of effective reforms. It must become a factor of stability able to strengthen national and social security and the unity of society in the name of the national interests of the Republic of Bulgaria.

The presidential institution must cease to be a source of political destabilization, of erosion of Bulgarian statehood, and of undermining the international authority of the Republic of Bulgaria. The aggressive campaign of total negation and vilification, albeit masked under the cover of the so-called new start, that the right-wing opposition has offered at the very start of the election campaign reveals the opposition's intentions to use the presidency for the purposes of destabilization and confrontation.

One hundred days before the presidential elections, the socioeconomic and sociopolitical situations continue to be in a state of acute crisis. The Democratic Left enters the election campaign with the problems of a political force that bears the responsibility for ruling the country in the most difficult year for the reforms, with increasing resistance from important institutions of power and a number of economic and political agents. The implementation of the structural reform, the application of unpopular, but necessary and unavoidable measures, and the errors in the conduct of p[illegible]es are shaking the confidence of the public in the p[illegible]ilities of democracy.

In this situation, it is necessary to achieve visible results in the policies of the government, the parliamentary majority, and the local authorities in overcoming the economic crisis, calming the market, and satisfactorily compensating the incomes of the socially disadvantaged sections of the population. Increasing the effectiveness of the Democratic Left's government and alleviating the burdens of the transition are necessary conditions for victory in the presidential elections, and election success will contribute toward the successful development of the reforms.

The intentions that Georgi Pirinski, as presidential candidate of the BSP and the other parties of the Democratic Left, has already declared cannot be fulfilled without broad political and public support, without the support of the broadest range of sympathizers, without the commitment of thousands of Bulgarian intellectuals and authoritative public figures, or without the trust of millions of Bulgarian citizens.

Our goals are achievable only with a well-prepared, convincing, and modern election campaign, in the course of which we must achieve a maximum mobilization of all the Socialists and sympathizers of the Democratic Left on the one hand, and on the other, win broad public support for the motto "Together—for Bulgaria!"

The candidates' messages are addressed to all sections of society, to the entire nation. The presidential and vice presidential candidates will be represented by the BSP, Aleksandur Stamboliyski Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, and the Ecoglasnost Political Club, while, in an active dialogue, the support of other parties, public organizations, and circles will be won to form unions and create initiatives in the name of the basic slogan of our election campaign.

During the election campaign, the Bulgarian Socialists will establish not only a new style of political conduct,

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but also a new model for the presidential institution that corresponds to the requirements of the Constitution and Bulgarians' expectations.

The BSP Supreme Council recommends to the Election Campaign Center and the corresponding local election organizations to establish a positive, correct, moderate, and tolerant style of election campaigning. Without disregarding the social and political differences, we will seek consensus and unity of action in the name of Bulgaria's general interest.

Bearing all the above in mind, and on the basis of the reports and debates, the BSP Supreme Council has decided the following:

1. It defines as a most important political task to win the forthcoming presidential elections on the broadest possible national foundation, with a view to establishing the democratic principles of organizing society on the basis of constitutionalism and strengthening statehood as a necessary prerequisite for successfully emerging from the current deep crisis.

2. It adopts the report on the main accents of the plan-program for the preparations for the elections for a president of the Republic of Bulgaria and the participation of the Democratic Left in them.

It approves the statute, functions, structure, and composition of the "1996 Presidential Elections" Campaign Center.

3. It adopts the report on the political partnership of the BSP with other parties and public organizations in the 1996 presidential elections.

It proposes to the Aleksandur Stamboliyski Bulgarian National Agrarian Union and the Ecoglasnost Political Club that political cooperation should be maintained and continued in the forthcoming presidential elections, while a special agreement is to be drawn up on the joint presentation of the presidential and vice-presidential candidatures and on the participation of the coalition in the elections under the name "Together—for Bulgaria!"

The leaderships of the coalition parties and the Democratic Left Parliamentary Group are to intensify the political dialogue to win wider public support.

4. Professor Dr. Ivan Marazov is approved as candidate for the post of vice president of the Republic of Bulgaria.

The BSP representatives in the Political Consultative Council, the managers of the Election Campaign Center, and the presidential candidate are asked to acquaint the coalition partners with the decision regarding the vice-presidential candidate.

Bulgaria: BSP Deputies Disagree on Anti-Zhelev Declaration

AU1907143496 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 19 Jul 96 p 2

[Article by Katya Ivanova: "Socialists Threaten Zhelev That They Will Apply to the Constitutional Court"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Sofia—The BSP may apply to the Constitutional Court if President Zhelev asks the same court to rule on whether the party is legitimate, the Socialist deputies announced yesterday. The leadership of the BSP parliamentary group is discussing the idea following the series of statements by the head of state concerning a presidential republic, a state of emergency, and the withdrawal of an issue of DURZHAVEN VESTNIK. The deputies believe that Zhelyu Zhelev should be attacked for encroaching upon Bulgaria's parliamentary form of government.

Yesterday the BSP Parliamentary Group rejected the text of a declaration against Zhelev's statements that was written by Yanaki Stoilov and Mariana Khristova. The Socialist deputies decided that the arguments were too legalistic, and would not be understood by the electorate. Stoilov is reported to have called upon his colleagues, instead of writing declarations, to address the lack of bread and the country's important problems, but the BSP parliamentary group leaders told him to be quiet. Premyanov was instructed to draft a second statement in simple language that clearly condemns the head of state. The second statement declares that the president's efforts to undermine the democratic processes have acquired hysterical dimensions.

Bulgaria: Interior Minister Dobrev's Performance Assessed

AU1807160296 Sofia SEGA in Bulgarian 18-24 Jul 96 No 28, pp 10-11

[Article by Tatyana Vasileva: "Dobrev's Dress Rehearsal"]

[FBIS Translated Text] At 20 Pozitano Street [Sofia headquarters of Bulgarian Socialist Party, BSP], they do not like to talk about Dobrev, not because they are afraid of him, but because he has become a yardstick for success in the BSP. Dobrev is one of the breed of Socialists who will not let the party down for anything in the world and the sort of professional who will not stop at anything before he attains his goal. Having proved his qualities within the BSP, now he has to cope with the Interior Ministry.

When Dobrev assumed his new post, people expected him to leave the BSP Executive Bureau and his post

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as chief of the BSP's Organizational Department. The depoliticization of the Interior Ministry was one of the achievements of the National Roundtable, and such action on Dobrev's part would help to dispel the suspicions that the party is again merging with the state. Dobrev not only did not suspend his membership of the BSP, but even became the first interior minister since 10 November 1989 who is directly connected with party structures. However, what happened? To the same extent that Organizational Secretary Dobrev is a risk for the Interior Ministry, Interior Minister Dobrev is a plus for the BSP.

He publicly pledged to put an end to ostentatious police operations of the "Bengarski" type, in which the police swoop down to arrest drivers of Moskviches who have had a normal amount to drink. He also promised to do "nothing against the law, and nothing involving excessive force or extreme measures." However, after remaining silent for six weeks, Dobrev has now hit the headlines. Why?

It is alleged that the recent police operations are to compensate for what the interior minister should not and has no right to state openly, namely that through its economic policies the Council of Ministers is creating conditions for the very crime wave whose back it wants to break. "How can I explain that an increase of only 4 percent in the rate of the value-added tax leads to a 40-percent rise in illegal trade?" Dobrev asked.

His actions within the Interior Ministry itself are also difficult to explain. Shortly before taking the hottest ministerial seat, he severely criticized the secretaries of the Interior Ministry. Accordingly, they all expected him to start the purge with them. However, this did not happen. According to one of the theories, the minister wants to put the Interior Ministry back on its feet. Since the secretaries are hostages to his will, initially Dobrev preferred to keep them on and thus give the middle-ranking officials a feeling of security. He successfully followed the same policy in the BSP apparatus in relation to the local posts. Dobrev cultivates his staff for years, and when the time comes, he draws them out like aces from his sleeve.

There is also another aspect. People describe the structure of the Interior Ministry as an invisible pyramid in which, if you remove one stone, one cannot tell whether the whole structure will not come crashing down. Probably for this reason, Dobrev is refraining from making overhasty staff changes, at least until he has the ministry fully under his control.

Lately, a hypothesis is gaining currency that, by going over to the offensive, Dobrev is in fact responding to the need for a strong hand. He is one of those people who sense the mood of society in their bones, and he knows that the people have been waiting more than four years for successes in fighting crime. By demonstratively dismissing the senior police officers of the Eighth Sofia District, he showed that from now on responsibility and blame will not be general, but will be attached to specific individuals.

One cannot say that Dobrev is anyone's man, nor that he is an independent spirit within the BSP. Even before his star came into the ascendant at the 41st BSP Congress with his appointment as organizational secretary, he was advised to decide where he would stand: with Lilov or Lukanov. Later, the question arose whether he would support Videnov or side with Marinov's Sofia Socialists. Dobrev, however, preferred to remain "no one's man" and to build up his own structures. It is claimed that at least half the new members of the BSP Executive Bureau are from cadres that he has cultivated. The fact that he has not handed over his power as chief of the Organizational Department to Violeta Vasileva, who is more to him than his right hand, indicates that Dobrev is still checking them out.

Many expected that the fight against crime would occupy him so completely that he would resign from his membership of the triumvirate engaged in selecting the BSP presidential candidate. Dobrev, however, completed the task to the very end, and in a certain sense was responsible for the imposition of Pirinski's candidature. He cultivated the feelings in the local party structures, and later sent the foreign minister's candidature back to the municipal BSP councils for their approval. Only after this did the BSP Supreme Council vote on the nomination. It is difficult to say whether Dobrev was making a gesture or seeking a compromise, but by employing this dual sifting process, the Interior Minister insured himself against the eventuality of the candidate losing.

No one will venture to say whether Dobrev is convinced of the constitutional correctness of Pirinski's candidature. However, a few people remember that in 1992 Dobrev came close to resigning from parliament as a BSP deputy, because he could not come to terms with the fact that he had failed to clear up all the uncertainties concerning Petur Boyadzhiev's French citizenship. For Dobrev, to show himself to be unprepared on an issue is more than an insult.

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Bulgaria: Multigroup Vice President on Lukanov's Removal

AU1907141596 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 19 Jul 96 p 15

[Interview with Nikolay Vulkanov, vice president of Multigroup and member of the Topenergy Supervisory Board; place and date not given: "Lukanov May Become an Adviser"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Simeonova] Mr. Vulkanov, is it true that Andrey Lukanov has been replaced as chairman of the Topenergy Board of Directors?

[Vulkanov] Yes.

[Simeonova] Yet he claims that the Supervisory Council has not met and says he knows nothing about such a decision.

[Vulkanov] Do you believe a member of the Supervisory Council or not?

[Simeonova] Will Mr. Lukanov engage in other work in the gas company from now on?

[Vulkanov] Lukanov and the board have to decide whether his services can be used as an adviser. We have not get made him an official offer, but this is possible.

[Simeonova] What are the reasons for his removal?

[Vulkanov] There exists a shareholders' agreement dated November 1995 regarding their equal representation on the Supervisory Board and Board of Directors. Andrey Lukanov does not represent any of the shareholders. Now, all the shareholders are represented. Apart from this, the company should not be politicized. In this way, we allay any suspicions regarding the politicization of Topenergy.

[Simeonova] Why was Iliya Pavlov chosen to become the board chairman?

[Vulkanov] In the last three years, Mr. Pavlov has taken part in all the negotiations and preparations for the gas company, including the talks with our Russian partner Gazprom. This is simply restoring fairness.

[Simeonova] What are the percentage holdings in Topenergy at the moment? Who is taking the share that belonged to The First Private Bank?

[Vulkanov] Multigroup has 8 percent, and Overgas, in which we have a 50 percent share, also holds 8 percent. The other shareholders are Bulgargaz with 25.1 percent, and Gazprom with 50 percent. The rest is shared between Bulbank, Khimimport, and The First Private Bank. It has yet to be decided who will buy the latter's holding.

[Simeonova] There was a rumor last week that Zhan Videnov wanted to increase the state's share in Topenergy.

[Vulkanov] The prime minister wants to increase the company's capital, which is $5 million. In this way, Topenergy will enjoy tax preferences. This is correct, and we agree.

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Slovakia: Meciar on EU Membership, Presidential Amnesty

LD1907204896 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1637 GMT 19 Jul 96

[Regular interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by correspondent Peter Toman; place and date not given—recorded]

[[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Toman] The Slovak Republic was today the first of the EU associated countries to hand over the completed questionnaire to the EU ambassador to Slovakia. What does this mean in terms of Slovakia's long-term efforts to become a member of this institution?

[Meciar] According to the meeting of the heads of government in Madrid, the questionnaire is in effect the first step for setting objective criteria for integration so that decisions are not made on the basis of subjective assessment, an impression, or putting pressure on public opinion.

We greatly welcome the step, because it will allow the EU to make an analytical assessment of individual countries and by comparing the data to assess the degree of their readiness for integration. The questionnaire is a start.

Another assessment should be made before starting the talks, and on the basis of the results of the second assessment a decision will be made on strategy.

I would like to remind once again all those who are now saying that we are not going to be admitted to the EU and the like, that such conclusions and assessments are very premature and subjective, since the talks on whether yes or no will start—according to information available to us and me personally—six months after the end of the intergovernmental conference of the EU countries, which will not happen before the year 1998, the year when scheduled elections are due to take place in Slovakia.

[Toman] What you have just said confirms that the handing over of the questionnaire means that only one of the conditions has been fulfilled. What other steps will the government pay special attention to?

[Meciar] We will focus our attention mainly on increasing contacts, on strengthening trust, and improving their knowledge of the Slovak Republic.

Quite recently, I met a top official from a country close to the EU who talked about a number of facts. Unfortunately, I had to ask him which country he was talking about since the situation in Slovakia was and is, thank God, quite different. [passage omitted]

[Toman] Prime Minister, in the television debate with foreign journalists you were critical of the Slovak president's activity and, in particular, of his upcoming amnesty granted to persons accused in the Technopol case. On 18 July, the amnesty became reality when the president halted criminal proceedings against two accused. [passage omitted] Prime minister, what do you think about this step taken by the head of state?

[Meciar] [Passage omitted] My personal assessment of the president of the republic is based on several facts. There is no doubt that in line with the constitution, the president has an inalienable right to grant an amnesty. But at the moment the actual application of this right suffers from both legal and moral flaws and fits ill with other legal tools—in fact it almost amounts to an abuse of legal tools. Let me explain why. There is a legal principle to the effect that no citizen can be taken away from his judge. The Constitution of the Slovak Republic further strengthens this point by stipulating that no citizen can be extradited abroad. These principles clearly emphasize the priority given to the jurisdiction of the Slovak Republic.

Here we now have a case where people were to appear in court and the president declares the jurisdiction of Slovak judges void and argues that other state's jurisdiction should be applied instead. This is not in line with either the spirit or the letter of the law. Moreover, we have to take into account the position of President Michal Kovac in connection with this case in which he has spoken as a witness and as an injured party. Some witnesses have even suggested that, were it not for Michal Kovac's office of the president, most likely he would now be one of the accused because of his involvement in various operations and actions already before the $220 million was paid. And now this man is deciding on the amnesty! What about his relationship with Michal Kovac Jr, his son, or with his son's accomplices? Relationships that have also been confirmed.

Neither can we overlook the connection between the legal and the factual aspects. Since January 1996 the Slovak Government has been aware that a deal had been struck between the president of the Slovak Republic and the perpetrators—or suspects—whereby the president will grant amnesty to those to whom he has now granted it on the condition that they will travel to Germany and take blame upon themselves.

Here at home the president's amnesty creates a complex legal situation, too, because it does not extend to his son or to the two other accomplices and therefore, the case has to continue. The two accused at the center of the case, and we know that the two had been accused of the

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most serious crimes, be it Martin Mily or Kocner, but mainly Kocner, will now act as impartial persons who are safe and in a position to accept blame for anything and thus clear the president's son, albeit at the cost of not speaking the truth in court. That simply does not concern them because for them the whole thing is over.

We have to take into account also the fact that the affair stretches further still. The president has not granted amnesty in the Technopol case alone. So far I have not seen what else he has granted, but Kocner is wanted on account of two other indictments—the first one is connected with 69 million Slovak crowns in the Technopol case, a case where the president's son, as well as Mily, Vanderwerf, and one other person are also involved. In the second instance Kocner is wanted in a fraud case involving an entrepreneur who was tricked out of 124 million, as well as out of his profit of 194 million. In other words, this amnesty covers cases involving a total of more than 260 million.

If people can be pardoned for a fraud like this, then one has to ask what is the president doing with this state and with this state's legal system, what is he doing with the citizens and with the police who investigated this case. The reason why the president is halting this case is not to allow its conclusion in Germany, because the case should have been completed in our country and then passed on to Germany with our explanations.

Naturally, in this context I would like to alert the public to the president's activity vis-a-vis another person, namely myself. On the one hand, he is granting amnesty in a case that involves 270 million because I have openly drawn attention to this case, and at the same time, he is initiating criminal proceedings against my person, saying, as if he was a judge speaking in a court of law, that I have committed crimes. By doing so the president is exceeding his jurisdiction and acting in a biased way.

This, then, is our Michal Kovac, our president and our shame. It is only a question of time of how much longer we, all who respect the laws, the state, and its interests, will allow him to spit into our eyes.

Slovakia: Carnogursky Comments on Meciar's Integration Stance

AU1907125796 Vienna KURIER in German 19 Jul 96 p 4

[Unattributed report: "The Slovak Opposition Defends Itself"]

[FBIS Translated Text] After Meciar's serious charges against the Slovak opposition, KURIER interviewed Jan Carnogursky, chairman of the Christian Democrats:

"The Slovak opposition organized a protest demonstration in Bratislava in May. At that time, I really said that we want to make a blue revolution," Carnogursky stated. "Blue is the color of the conservatives and of Slovakia. In this way, I wanted to put in a poetic way what we want to push through: Order, decency, a rule-of-law state, and adherence to democracy. It was not a call for an overthrow. On the contrary, Meciar should rule until the end of his term."

Carnogursky considers the prime minister's arguments on Slovak integration as completely absurd. German Chancellor Kohl has stated only recently that Slovakia is not ripe for the EU. According to Carnogursky, only Meciar's government is responsible for that. "Who criminalizes the constitutional bodies when the Slovak intelligence service kidnaps the president's son to discredit the head of state?" the opposition politician asks. He answers this himself: "The plan backfired: While Kovac is enjoying international esteem, Meciar is not being received in the West."

Slovakia: Commentary on Kohl's Statement, Officials' Reaction

AU1907151696 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 19 Jul 96 p 9

[Commentary by Juraj Alner: "The Most Important Thing Is Not What People Say, But What They Do"]

[FBIS Translated Text] All Slovak dailies, with the exception of [the pro-government] SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA, yesterday published the statement by German Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl of 16 July that Slovakia currently does not have good prerequisites for an early admission into the EU, in view of its internal political developments (this opinion is not new, Kohl's position has been known for some time). This fact can be explained in two ways: from the viewpoint of the government coalition, all the dailies that published the statement are opposition newspapers and have no inhibitions about publishing what is damaging to Slovakia. From the objective viewpoint, Kohl's statement is a piece of information on the real state of affairs, and suppressing it will not change this state of affairs, rather the opposite.

We have often heard interpretations of European politicians' critical discussions with their Slovak colleagues. In view of diplomatic conventions, their reservations tend to be wrapped in polite phrases. Slovak politicians then invariably interpreted the meetings by emphasizing precisely this gift wrapping of the dialogue, in the style "they had some reservations but, on the whole, they praised us."

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This method works at rallies. But political analyses must qualify such statements as half-truths. Some citizens who lack information, or do not care for it, are impressed. Such statements are good to hear and it is pleasant to believe in them.

But Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] Chairman and Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar should distinguish between what he says at rallies of his movement's supporters and what he says at political negotiations or in television discussions with journalists. Also during the debate with two prominent foreign journalists in the "What Next, Prime Minister?" program the day before yesterday, for example, he did not manage to avoid saying that, if the Slovak Republic fails to be admitted into the EU, it will be the responsibility of the president and the opposition. Statements like these are not likely to affect foreign countries' attitude toward the president, it is their attitude toward Vladimir Meciar that will be affected.

At yesterday's HZDS briefing, Dusan Slobodnik, chairman of the parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee, stated that "Mr. Kohl is not an expert on Slovakia" and that the information he has "comes mainly from opposition sources." He reinforced this attitude by saying that "it is not us who talk about the situation in our country being bad." And HZDS deputy Jan Cuper, member of the National Council of the Slovak Republic Constitutional and Legal Affairs Committee, added that there is a direct connection between "such statements by foreign politicians and Slovak opposition politicians' visits abroad." He specified that he was thinking of Jan Carnogursky's meeting with representatives of the German Christian Democratic Union.

Chancellor Kohl and many other European politicians do not, of course, lack information of their own, information that does not come from "opposition journalists" or "opposition politicians" as those who want to belittle critical voices are saying.

If there is something "bad" somewhere, it is the opposition's job to talk about it and the media's job to inform about it. The job of those who govern the country is to no longer do what is "bad." And if they do so, nonetheless, they should take seriously others' opinions and set their erroneous steps right. That is how a civic society works.

Some Slovak Government politicians often argue, when the Slovak Republic's admission into the EU is discussed, that present EU members did not have to meet such stringent conditions as Slovakia must meet now when they were being admitted. Great Britain may not have the best social policy, France may not have the best minority policy, and Greece may have had its problems with democracy, but these countries were not entering a union that is a community heading toward its own political federalization, but they were entering what originally was the European Economic Community and their entry was assessed mainly according to economic criteria. These criteria are still important today, but they are linked mainly to the internal political situation. One of the reasons is that the new applicants are mostly countries that have behind them decades of totalitarian regimes. At the forefront of attention is how they have come to terms with this heritage.

[Helmut Kohl's statement about Slovakia not being ready for EU membership is also the subject of a 500-word commentary by Ivan Kuhn, entitled "Voigt, Albright, Kohl...And Who Else?" in Bratislava SME in Slovak on 19 July on page 6. Kuhn believes that "the Slovak Government coalition will not be able to ignore this signal" and continues: "Prime Minister Meciar and his government have the choice between two possibilities at this moment. They will either start inventing new theories about a foreign conspiracy against the young Slovak statehood, treacherous Slovak journalists who soil their own nest, and incompetent Western diplomats who are not capable of providing their governments with an objective picture of Slovakia, or they will think about what they have been told at meetings by Karsten Voigt, chairman of the North Atlantic Assembly; Herbert Boesch, chairman of the Joint Parliamentary Committee of the European Parliament and the NRSR [National Council of the Slovak Republic]; Michel Barnier, French minister of European affairs; Werner Hoyer, state minister at the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs; or Madeleine Albright, U.S. ambassador to the United Nations. Or has this still not been enough for them?"]

Slovakia: Reaction to Kohl's Statement on EU Prospects

AU1907120496 Bratislava SME in Slovak 18 Jul 96 pp 1-2

[Report by "bog": "Opposition Claims the Slovak Republic Will Not Get Into the EU as Long as Meciar's Government Policy Does Not Change"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—In their reactions to the words of German Chancellor Helmut Kohl that the Slovak Republic currently does not meet the conditions for entering the EU, Slovak opposition politicians stated almost unanimously that Slovakia's unfavorable position abroad has been caused by the policies of Meciar's government. According to the opposition, Slovakia's nonadmission into the EU would be negatively reflected in the economy, as well as in the country's

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security, which would also be felt by the citizens of the Slovak Republic. "Chancellor Kohl presented the bill to Meciar's government. His statement that the Slovak Republic cannot be admitted into the EU at present clearly denotes that, as long as the policy implemented by Meciar's government continues, the Slovak Republic will not get into the EU. Slovakia's coming to a halt before the EU's gate would have unforeseeable consequences for us, because at present there exists for us no alternative to EU membership in terms of the Slovak Republic's international alignment. More precisely, the alternative would be a Slovakia that is put at a disadvantage economically and short of security guarantees," Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] Chairman Jan Carnogursky told SME. Democratic Union [DU] Deputy Chairman Eduard Kukan stressed that, on the political level, the Slovak Republic's nonadmission into the EU would represent the Slovak Government's failure to implement its policy statement. "It is clear already that the Slovak Republic has dropped out of the first group of candidates for NATO membership. If a similar 'result' were achieved also with regard to EU membership, it would mean a complete fiasco for the Meciar government's policy," he said.

Kukan added that only one thing follows from the words of Helmut Kohl: Policy in Slovakia must change. "No flowery talk about the situation being in perfect order and foreign countries not understanding us will hold water and the same goes for the claim that foreign countries do not have objective information," Kukan said. "Until now everything seemed to indicate that the EU would start entry talks with all associate countries at the same time and that the length of these talks would depend on these countries' preparedness, or lack of it, for entry. If the Slovak Republic were to find itself among countries that will be admitted at a later stage, it would be felt mainly by the large and successful Slovak companies. Their position on the European market and chances of establishing themselves on this market would be far more difficult. The citizens would feel this palpably in the economy and in their standard of living," he stressed. Party of the Democratic Left (SDL) Deputy Chairman Peter Weiss told our daily that he perceived Helmut Kohl's statement as the "toughening" of many previous signals from EU countries and EU bodies that the state of democracy in the Slovak Republic did not conform with the conditions formulated by the EU at Copenhagen and Essen. "Incidentally, Helmut Kohl refuted the Slovak prime minister's self-confident statement of Tuesday [16 July], during a meeting with representatives of the Socialist International, that 'doubts about the democratic development in the Slovak Republic are unnecessary.' It is apparent that the doubts linger on. The government coalition will already have the chance to dispel them at the September meeting of the National Council of the Slovak Republic," Weiss added. Democratic Party (DS) Deputy Chairman Frantisek Sebej said that Kohl publicly and without the usual diplomatic embellishment "said what the democratic opposition has been saying from the start of Meciar's involvement in politics." According to Sebej, Kohl named the foreign policy consequences of the fact that "the Slovak Republic is the sole postcommunist country in which the ruling political group has started to dismantle the democratic institutions built after 1989." The Slovak Republic's nonadmission into the EU would mean a threat to the freedoms, security, and prosperity of citizens. Coexistence Chairman Miklos Duray said that "Kohl spoke about what we have been suspecting all along: That political developments in the Slovak Republic and the direction of the country's development are anti-integrationist [protiintegracne], which complicates, and will complicate, the Slovak Republic's integration into European and Euroatlantic structures. This is not a matter of various statements by politicians; it is a matter of facts. Some of the laws, measures, and instances of unlawfulness adopted in the Slovak Republic reinforce this anti-integrationist trend," Duray noted. [On the same day, on page 1, Bratislava SME in Slovak carries a 100-word "bog"-signed report entitled "For the Time Being, Ministry of Foreign Affairs Is Not Going To Comment on Helmut Kohl's Remarks," which reads: "According to its preliminary information, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic does not consider the CTK report on German Chancellor Helmut Kohl's interview for the Austrian ORF radio station to have been accurate. In the interview, which the ORF broadcast on Tuesday evening, Kohl for the first time publicly called into question the Slovak Republic's prerequisites for EU entry. 'If we are going to comment on this matter, then it will only be after verifying all the available materials,' Foreign Ministry Spokesman Juraj Matejovsky told our daily yesterday when asked how the Ministry of Foreign Affairs assessed the German chancellor's statement and whether the Slovak Republic in the present situation meets the conditions for admission into the EU."]

Slovakia: SNS Chairman on Resolution Against Budapest Conference

LD2007185096 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 20 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Central Council of the Slovak National Party [SNS] held a session in Zilina today. Representatives of new SNS district and regional bodies that are being constituted as part of the new territorial and administrative division took part in the session as well.

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The Central Council expressed satisfaction with the fact that some controversial opinions inside the government coalition had been clarified and the situation among coalition partners had been stabilized.

At today's session, members of the Central Council adopted a resolution reacting to the statement from the Budapest conference entitled: Hungary and Hungarians Beyond the Borders. In this connection, reporter Vladimir Lach interviewed Slovak National Party chairman Jan Slota.

[Begin Slota recording] The resolution deals first and foremost with the continuing increase in Hungarian chauvinism. I would like to stress that the SNS is greatly concerned about further manifestations of this dangerous policy. Therefore, it resolutely rejects any celebration of violence, aggressiveness, and genocide on our territory, such as the celebrations of the 1100th anniversary of the invasion of Slovakia by Hungarian tribes.

The SNS draws attention to the fact that, at a time when the civilized world condemns violence and terrorism, the Hungarians are preparing arrogant celebrations of murder, terror, and extermination of a civilized nation on its own territory. The SNS regards this as an action that is at variance with the content of the Trianon Treaty, which bans the propagation of Greater Hungary.

This is a very dangerous phenomenon in European politics, since if somebody begins to question borders in Central Europe, borders throughout Europe are questioned. In the event of borders being questioned—and they are questioning borders because they are questioning the Trianon Treaty—the danger is very real. [passage omitted]

Slovakia: Ethnic Hungarians Deny Upsetting 'Order'

AU1807141396 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 18 Jul 96 p 3

[Unattributed report on interview with ethnic Hungarian leaders in Slovakia; place and date not given: "Slovak Accusations Out of Fear"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Hitting out in all directions derives from fear and from the fact that it is becoming increasingly clear that Slovakia is being left out of the current process of European integration, Miklos Duray, chairman of the Coexistence Movement in Slovakia, told us in reaction to Foreign Committee Chairman Dusan Slobodnik's claim that signing the resolution of the Hungarian-Hungarian summit in Budapest was "a crime against Slovakia's constitutional order."

According to Miklos Duray, the threats of even limiting the existing rights of the ethnic Hungarians in Slovakia derive from the fact that now, after signing the document, Slovakia is facing itself and the ratified Basic Treaty for the first time.

"What the Slovaks call upsetting the constitutional order and alliance with a foreign power has for long became an internal legal order at signing the Basic Treaty," Duray argued. The inclusion of Proposal No 1,201 of the Council of Europe into this treaty also made autonomy a matter of internal legal order, so Slovak politicians are protesting this in vain. However, the threats to ban the ethnic Hungarian parties in Slovakia might be carried out, but this would harm Slovakia's European integration, he added.

All of us reject Mr. Slobodnik's claim that we are trying to upset the Slovak constitutional order, Laszlo A. Nagy, chairman of the Hungarian Civic Party, told us. Why this big campaign after the Hungarian-Hungarian summit? Slovakia is lagging behind the neighboring countries that can count on making it into the EU and NATO in the first circle. So, the search for a scapegoat has begun, one that can be blamed for everything. This attitude recalls the saying that "my goat has died, so my neighbor's goat should also die." The recent coalition crisis is still simmering and this is precisely what they want to divert attention from. In addition, the "cleansing" activities connected with the territorial administration will start in the course of this summer: New offices will emerge and old leaders will be replaced. Bank privatization is under way, so serious scandals are expected. Therefore, it is better for the public not to deal with these issues.

"The signing affair came at a very good time in the current domestic political situation," Gula Bardos, the deputy of the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement, told us. Everyone is talking about the Hungarian-Hungarian summit today and, unfortunately, the Slovak Government coalition and the so-called democratic opposition agree on many things. Meciar and his entourage also fear that, after Hungary's integration, "problems might emerge" regarding Slovakia's integration. The ethnic Hungarians in Slovakia would like to see Slovakia keeping up with the countries that desire to integrate. If Slovakia fails, we must name the culprit who failed to make use of this historic opportunity.

Dusan Slobodnik said that they might ban the activity of political forces organized on ethnic bases. According to Slobodnik, Slovakia is above European standards on national minority rights and so it can easily give up some "extras." He called it an antistate activity for national minorities to accept financial support from the

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Hungarian budget and he pointed out that, theoretically, Slovakia could ban all the Hungarian parliamentary parties. Dusan Slobodnik, who only appreciates Gyula Horn, mentioned the assimilation of 400,000 Slovaks in Hungary, while, in his view, they have not succeeded in assimilating one single Hungarian in Slovakia.

Slovakia: Daily Claims Car Explosion Caused by Booby Trap

AU1907135996 Bratislava SME in Slovak 18 Jul 96 p 2

[Report by "pt": "Director of the Institute of Criminal Expert Analysis Still Unable To Determine Exact Completion Date for Expert Analysis of Car in Which Robert Remias Died"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—Milan Danihel, director of the Slovak Police Corps' Institute of Criminal Expert Analysis [KEU], yesterday issued a statement on the expert evaluation of the wreck of the car in which Robert Remias [close friend of Oscar F., former member of the Slovak Intelligence Service (SIS), who confessed to participating in the kidnapping of the Slovak president's son, Michal Kovac Jr.] died following an explosion. Danihel stated that at present he is unable to estimate the date when the expert analysis will be completed. "I must note with regret that despite the efforts exerted by all the employees of the Police Corps' KEU involved in the matter, cooperating expert institutes, and individual experts, we have not yet succeeded in winding up the examination of the incident. Work on the case continues intensively. Partial experiments and model tests are currently taking place, and we are awaiting an expert evaluation of the explosive combustion of gasoline fumes and its possible effects, as well as technical documentation on the functional parts of the motor vehicle from its manufacturer, which has not yet been submitted," KEU Director Danihel states in his statement. In conclusion, he says they will try to complete the work as soon as possible. According to information available to the daily SME, it follows from the examinations carried out thus far that an explosive device had been placed in the car, which caused its explosion and the death of Robert Remias. The fact that the explosion was triggered by a booby trap is also borne out by the nature of the damage done to parts of the car body that were exposed to fire, and by the broken-away parts of the metal sheet that were severed from the car while still cold, that is, right at the time of the explosion, and were not exposed to the ensuing fire.

[The delay in the release of the long-awaited expert analysis of Robert Remias' car is also the subject of a 500-word commentary by Peter Toth published in Bratislava SME in Slovak on 17 July on page 4, and entitled "Everything Could Be Different." According to Toth, "the delays in drafting the expert analysis indicate that Robert Remias' car exploded after a detonator was set off, and the chief investigators and criminal experts are devising tactics for the timing of its publication."]

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Hungary: Government To Fund Quarter of NATO Military Exercise

LD2207094096 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 0500 GMT 22 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] A NATO-led air force exercise codenamed Cooperative Chance '96 began in the central Hungarian town of Szolnok on 20 July. Eight NATO member states and eight NATO Partnership for Peace countries are participating in the manoeuvres. [passage omitted]

About a quarter of the 160m-forint cost is being paid for by the Hungarian side, while the rest is being paid for by NATO and the other participating states.

Hungary: Workers Party Demonstrates Against NATO Exercise

AU2007182296 Paris AFP in English 1543 GMT 20 Jul 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Budapest, 20 July (MTI)—A few hundred members and supporters of the Workers' Party (WP) staged a demonstration against the NATO-led air exercise codenamed "Cooperative Chance '96" in Szolnok, central Hungary, today.

Party chairman Gyula Thurmer said they were demonstrating against those who take Hungary into a war adventure and a costly arms buildup, and give up its independence. "The Horn government seeks to pull the country into the marsh of NATO and Partnership for Peace from where there is no return," he said.

Thurmer said the WP is brave enough to stand before the unbidden guests and tell them: "Gentlemen, go home, take your troops, arms and aircraft home, and let us live in peace." The Workers' Party, he said, would make every possible effort so that neither Soviet, nor U.S. or any other foreign troop be stationed in Hungary. The party is strong enough to achieve this goal because last year it collected 180,000 petitions for a referendum to be held on Hungary's future membership of NATO.

After his speech the demonstrators marched to the local military secondary school and handed over a note of protest to a Defence Ministry official.

Hungary: Position on Summit Given to Romanian Delegation

AU2207111796 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 19 Jul 96 p 2

[Report by unidentified correspondent: "Budapest Provides Answers to Bucharest"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The written position on the resolution adopted at the Hungarian-Hungarian summit at the beginning of July has been handed over to the Romanian side in Budapest as requested by Bucharest. Deputy Foreign Ministry State Secretary Gabor Bagi summoned the Romanian Embassy charge d'affaires to the Foreign Ministry on 17 July and handed over a letter that contains the aforementioned answer, Foreign Ministry Spokesman Gabor Szentivanyi told us.

He said that the Hungarian side welcomed the fact that Bucharest turned to the relevant institutions in Budapest for information regarding the aforementioned resolution. At the meeting, we assured the Romanian side that the acceptance of this joint statement does not mean any change in direction in the Hungarian foreign policy. Gabor Bagi informed the Romanian official that the Hungarian Republic continues to be interested in deepening the multilateral Hungarian-Romanian relations and mutual confidence. The Hungarian Republic is ready to discuss the open issues of the basic treaty.

Gabor Szentivanyi told us that, in its answer, the foreign minister stressed among other things that the meeting held between 4 and 5 July basically served to clarify the controversial issues between the Hungarians living in Hungary and the ethnic Hungarians living in the neighboring countries. The participants in the summit focused their attention primarily on integration efforts and the fact that the European integration of neighboring countries—including Romania—is also an overall Hungarian interest is a progressive element.

The answer of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry also mentions the fact that the autonomy mentioned in the aforementioned document appears as a means of preserving identity. The document does not mention any ethnically based autonomy or collective rights. The document sent to Bucharest points out that Hungary regards the formulation of concrete solutions as the task and responsibility of the political leadership and the relevant minorities of the given country. Demanding autonomy cannot be regarded as demanding separatism, and efforts that are in harmony with the European practice cannot be regarded as antidemocratic.

Hungary: Nikolits Discusses Security Issues, Lack of Funds

LD2007142696 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0805 GMT 20 Jul 96

[Interview with Istvan Nikolits, Hungarian minister without portfolio in charge of civilian secret services, by correspondent Katalin Rangos; place and date not given; from the "K line" program—live or recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Rangos] When you were appointed to take charge of security,

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were you surrounded exclusively by people who had served 10, 15 or even 30 years in the department? [passage omitted]

[Nikolits] Not necessarily. Some of the service heads had been appointed by Bela Katona and had come from other walks of life; however, there are also those who have come up the ladder here, and others who were appointed by former Prime Minister Peter Boross who have been doing their jobs very satisfactorily. I have never believed in taking steps out of sentiment or on other people's advice against my own convictions that might have led to irreversible damage, such as a number of personnel changes expected by me at various times.

[Rangos] Have you not replaced anybody? Is the current staff or are the ministry's employees the same as you inherited them?

[Nikolits] I would not say that, but I have not replaced one single person under my jurisdiction. [passage omitted]

[Rangos] Why does a minister in charge of the secret services have to remain accessible at all times? Is it because a spy of ours may be caught somewhere suddenly, or people may be arrested here at home?

[Nikolits] Both.

[Rangos] Have both of these occurred during your office?

[Nikolits] No, luckily there has been no occurrence of this, thank God, especially not with respect of the former. We have no spies. We have associates who engage in gathering various kinds of information that we try to obtain mostly from publicly available sources in a decent manner, and if we are more interested in a particular issue, we try to gain more accurate and detailed information by using, to some extent, firmer means.

[Rangos] Does this mean that they live abroad, read newspapers, watch television, and draw clever conclusions?

[Nikolits] They move around socially and try to strike up acquaintances. Yes, more or less. [passage omitted]

[Rangos] Do you have an excess of applicants?

[Nikolits] Regretfully, no. No, because this work is not easy by any means. We try to have highly trained people speaking many languages, and these people are few and far between in Hungary at this time and are considerably expensive; and the budget has little money for this. This is a sad state of affairs because without channels of this kind, a service such as this finds it very hard to function, if at all.

[Rangos] Do we need all the information gathered abroad by our own, paid people?

[Nikolits] Yes, we need it. Every country needs it. The question is from where.

[Rangos] Then, please name those areas where our informants do not go at all.

[Nikolits] I am definitely not interested in what takes place in the Ivory Coast; however, I am very interested in what is happening in our neighborhood, how the settlement of the Yugoslav crisis is progressing, and to what extent the processes are stabilizing there, or how the fate of the Baranja triangle is going to be settled.

[Rangos] Would you say that we concentrate our informants in areas we are interested in? [passage omitted]

[Nikolits] Obtaining any kind of information from these countries is in the basic interest of Hungary, and we have an interest in knowing about everything; after all, we have common borders, we have suffered from a trade embargo for years, a trade embargo that caused enormous damage to our country.

We would like to normalize our relations with them as soon as possible; however, the process of stabilization and the peace process must develop there in a way that will enable us to take steps toward normalization. [passage omitted]

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B-H: Sacirbey Calls For Sanctions on Belgrade, Bosnian Serbs

AU2207164296 Paris AFP in English 1610 GMT 22 Jul 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] United Nations, July 22 (AFP)—The Bosnian envoy to the United Nations on Monday called for a reimposition of sanctions against Belgrade and Bosnian Serbs to force the arrest and extradition of indicted war criminals. In a letter to the Security Council, ambassador Muhamed Sacirbey called on the Council to "act decisively" by reimposing sanctions because of the Serbs' failure to comply with provisions of the Dayton peace agreement and UN resolutions.

The Security Council was to discuss Bosnian developments on Tuesday, but western diplomats said that the Council was unlikely to heed Sacirbey's call. They noted that technically, a request for sanctions would have to come from the Implementation Force commmander or the High Representative in charge of civilian aspects of Dayton, before the Security Council would act.

Sacirbey, speaking at a news conference Monday, said that an agreement brokered by US envoy Richard Holbrooke providing for Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic to relinquish political activities was "not enough." "We do believe that it is appropriate to continue to demand sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro and the Republica Srpska to the extent that one entity within Bosnia has not complied with the terms of the Dayton accord, Security Council resolutions as well as the demands of the tribunal," Sacirbey said.

The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, based in The Hague, has issued arrest warrants for Karadzic and his military associate General Ratko Mladic, accused of genocide and crimes against humanity.

"If there is no will to pursue sanctions, then we would like to see that fact brought out and find out what other alternatives are available to bring this goal to fruition," Sacirbey said.

Sacirbey also accused Karadzic's nationalist Serb Democratic Party (SDS) of using the September 14 elections in Bosnia to pursue its own "private agenda," including the partitioning of Bosnia, "which could bring about a new conflict, or at least a new tension." He said that "peace in Bosnia does not hinge on these imperfect elections but in meeting the terms of the Dayton agreement fully, and most importantly the arrest and extradition of war criminals."

German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel said in an interview published Sunday that sanctions should be reintroduced against Bosnia's Serbs to press for the extradition of Karadzic.

B-H: Izetbegovic Pleased With Karadzic Resignation

LD1907203096 Sarajevo BH PRESS in Serbo-Croatian 1930 GMT 19 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 19 Jul (BH PRESS)—In connection with the resignation of Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic from the leading position in the ruling Bosnian Serb Democratic Party, Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, has made the following statement for BH PRESS:

"It is good news. Every capitulation of war criminals is good news. Furthermore, it could be the beginning of a process because experience has shown that totalitarian regimes are very sensitive to leadership changes.

"Holbrooke's persistence was obviously successful, although it was backed by Washington's threat of sanctions at the right time; however, it only means that one formal obstacle in the continuation of the election process has been eliminated. The real obstacle will be eliminated when the accused are sent to The Hague. Until then, one important provision of the Dayton agreement remains unfulfilled. Here again, only a threat of sanctions can help, and we expect that pressure in this direction will be continued."

B-H: Silajdzic Sees Karadzic Resignation as 'Rhetorical Trap'

AU1907185696 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 19 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Haris Silajdzic, president of the Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina, assessed Karadzic s resignation from all public functions as a rhetorical trap for Bosnia-Herzegovina negotiators. He said that this because it is now obvious that the Serb Democratic Party [SDS] has gained legitimacy together with all the deeds it initiated and carried out.

Siljadzic asked, what are we now going to do with the decision passed by the Supreme Court and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency which proclaimed the SDS a terrorist organization?

The Party for Bosnia-Herzegovina believes that legitimate Bosnia-Herzegovina authorities have a frivolous (?stance) toward decisions they themselves passed. According to Siljadzic, Karadzic's withdrawal does not mean that his influence in the SDS will diminish. That

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is why Silajdzic believes that the SDS has scored a significant political point, and that democracy in Bosnia-Herzegovina has lost this particular battle.

Silajdzic today rejected claims that Bosnia-Herzegovina had to pay the price of the United States' haste to see elections held on time. He believes that the U.S. role, particularly Holbrooke's, is extremely significant for the process of stabilization in Bosnia-Herzegovina, but that mediators should take greater care about decisions passed by legitimate institutions.

B-H: Ganic Rejects Rumor of Brcko for Karadzic Deal

LD2007102096 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 20 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Ejup Ganic, member of the state Presidency and vice president of the Federation [of Bosnia-Herzegovina], has dismissed rumors of an agreement between U.S. envoy Holbrooke and Serbian President Milosevic, according to which Milosevic was offered Brcko in return for Karadzic's resignation.

In a statement to BH PRESS, he described such reports as classic speculation by those who wish to soften Karadzic's downfall in this way. Ganic said that it was quite clear whom Brcko belonged to, who was in the majority there, and that there would be no concessions with regard to Brcko, the more so since the whole world knows the [word indistinct] crimes that were committed against the Bosniaks and Croats in this town.

B-H: Ganic: No 'Healthy' Peace in Bosnia While Karadzic Remains

LD2107150896 Dublin RTE Radio One Network in English 1230 GMT 21 Jul 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Bosnian politicians claim that the continued presence of the two Bosnian Serb leaders [Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic] is interfering with the proper implementation of the Dayton peace plan. This week we spoke to the vice president of the Bosnian Federation, Ejup Ganic, at his office in Sarajevo. We asked Mr. Ganic, a member of the Muslim SDA [Party of Democratic Action—Stranka Demokratska Akcije] party, how he felt the civilian and military aspects of the Dayton plan were proceeding.

[Begin recording] [Ganic in English] The military part went basically smoothly, except for these two indicted war criminals, Karadzic and Mladic. They make a military presence to some extent ridiculous, because in one apartment you have those indicted for war crimes—and they are next to Hitler according to the scale of the crime they did. And then you have IFOR, which represents top-notch military force of the free world, the West world so to speak. And they are now, they're in the same playground. So you see the chemistry is almost impossible: to have NATO troops who are here to create stability and defend democratic processes for the future, and then you have these two who are walking more or less freely around. The civilian part suffers significantly because of the presence of Karadzic and Mladic, so unless these two characters are removed, you know, it will be very difficult to present an optimistic picture altogether.

[Unidentified interviewer] Do you believe then that this is the key issue facing the international community at the moment, the position of Mladic and Karadzic?

[Ganic] Yes, because you know it tells you: look, you can be responsible for the deaths of 200,000 people and really nobody can do anything to you. So here in the case with Karadzic and Mladic, if you want Dayton agreement to survive in its capacity you have to remove these people, because, you know, it doesn't fit there, you know, you can't have both. You can't have a virus of this ethnic cleansing and genocide and those who invented that virus to be there, and at the same time have a healthy process.

[Interviewer] But who is going to perform this operation? Who is actually going to make the arrests?

[Ganic] There are plenty of soldiers who would be willing to chase those caliber of people. You know, when Hitler was surrounded in Berlin, it was a competition who will come closer. However, someone has to make the decision. Now, if you don't make that decision, then you question the ability of the international community to stand strong in some of these moral issues.

[Interviewer] That's at a political level. So really you're talking about President Clinton taking a decision.

[Ganic] Well, I think it's not only his; it's not only the President, you know. I think everybody has to have an issue on this. Everyone has to declare himself on this issue. Everyone has to say, to take—so to speak—a public vote on this. So all the members of NATO, countries which (?make this NATO), should say yes, we are for it, or we are not for it, and then you know in history who did what and which direction people acted when it was tough.

[Interviewer] If a decision like this isn't taken—and taken quite soon as well, because if somebody does go in and makes an arrest of somebody like Dr. Karadzic, that will cause problems for the electoral process in terms of the Republika Srpska side—it will take time to smooth out. And everybody seems very adamant that 14 September is going to be the election day in this country.

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If they don't make those decisions and if Dr. Karadzic is still living in Pale, will the elections go ahead?

[Ganic] Well, you can't have, you cannot have elections that will create change if Karadzic is there. You understand what I mean. You could have some cosmetics, but that's makeup. But you can't have elections that will bring some new meaning if that man is around, both of them. What do you think if someone after World War II came and said: Look, we should keep Hitler because many Germans will be unhappy if we kill him. We should keep him, we should just put him in a corner and not let him be too much involved in politics, but you know, (?we will build Germany with Germans), and people will change. He is a man who is not that important, you know. No, you have to remove symbols of evil, symbols of those who represent genocide, massive rapes, terror.

[Interviewer] Do you think the Dayton formula is a formula for partition of Bosnia, though? Do you think that the Serb Republika Srpska, that they will see this as legitimizing the boundary line that's there, and that that legitimizes what they would see as their war gains and that this is a cue to partition the country? And if so, what can we expect on this side of the line?

[Ganic] Well, first of all it depends how you read a book. It is some kind of therapy for Bosnia to survive as a single country. You go first through this in trial, partition, but you put one type of characters in one corner and the other in other corner. The bad guys and good guys. And then slowly you start diffusion process so that (?everyone regains some profit). I don't see that there's a partition there, but it's a kind of an engineering approach. How to solve the problem in a simple way. You know, we, there is something that becomes important, you know, Serbia is not strong any more, it's crumbling economically and they cannot even run what they have, you know. And they don't solve the problem by taking half of Bosnia. So they don't solve their problems (?on that count). Because the Serbs from Bosnia bring more problems to Serbia than they offer Serbia, so to speak. [end recording]

[Announcer] The vice president of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Ejup Ganic.

B-H: Ganic Previews Delegation's Upcoming Visit to Belgrade

LD2007192096 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1542 GMT 20 Jul 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, July 20 (TANJUG)—Vice-President of the Moslem-Croat Federation Ejup Ganic has said that a Federation business delegation that is to visit Belgrade early next week will include people capable of taking steps forward in the two sides' relations.

Sarajevo media quoted on Saturday Ganic, who will head the delegation, as saying Bosnia wanted to cooperate with neighbours and build relations where it was possible to do so.

Ganic said it was necessary to take every possible step forward in order to create better living conditions for Bosnia's citizens and to secure stability in the region.

"Such steps will be taken in the future if they can help stabilise the situation, ease tensions and promote economic cooperation in the region," he said.

Talks between the Moslem-Croat Federation and Yugoslavia are expected to primarily lead to the resumption of civilian flights between Sarajevo and Belgrade.

B-H: Muratovic Denies Reports of Iranian Fighters in Bosnia

LD2007103696 Tehran IRNA in English 2134 GMT 19 Jul 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Athens, July 19, IRNA—The prime minister of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Hasan Muratovic, Friday strongly denied some Western media reports alleging the presence of Iranian fighters in Bosnia.

"There were never any Iranian fighters in Bosnia, there are no foreign fighters left in Bosnia," Muratovic told the American TV-network CNN in an interview Friday evening.

He said there were a few Iranian instructors in the Bosnian army during the war, but they have left now.

Muratovic said some fighters from countries which were opposed to Iran had helped the Bosnian Muslims.

The Bosnian prime minister said 58 foreigners who fought along the side of the Bosnian army have married in Bosnia and received the Bosnian citizenship and were leading a normal life now as ordinary citizens.

B-H: Muslim Police Arrest Croat Officers Heading for Mostar

LD1907100996 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 19 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] At about 1620 [1420 GMT] yesterday, Muslim police in Jablanica arrested a group of officers of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] who were travelling officially with an escort from Bosnia in the direction of Mostar. They were arrested and detained for more than two hours—Major General

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Zeljko (?Siljak), brigadiers Antun (?Luguric), Tomislav Naletilic, and Zarko Keza, Colonel Ilija Vincetic and six policemen escorting them.

Twenty armed Muslim policemen from the Jablanica police station took part in the action. The HVO officers were told at the scene that the arrest was directly ordered by Avdo Hebib, interior minister of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation.

The main HVO headquarters has confirmed that during their arrest and detention the officers were not maltreated. Mention is also made of the special efforts of IFOR [Implementation Force] and the Muslim Army commander Gen. Rasim Delic who helped to obtain the release of the HVO officers.

The incident in Jablanica is a crude violation of the agreement on freedom of movement of the military and civilians on the territory of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, and such behavior certainly does not contribute to the normalization of the situation and the establishment of the federation.

B-H: Muslims Reportedly Arrest Croat Former Police Chief

AU1907160796 Paris AFP in English 1549 GMT 19 Jul 96

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] SARAJEVO, July 19 (AFP)—Bosnian police have arrested the former police chief of the Croat-held town of Kiseljak, west of Sarajevo, police at Kiseljak told AFP Friday.

"Velimir Milicevic, former Kiseljak police chief, was arrested in Blazuj by Muslim police this (Friday) morning and is now held at the Ilidza police station," an official who asked not to be named said over the phone.

Blazuj is a Muslim-held village halfway between Sarajevo and Kiseljak which itself is 35 kilometres (25 miles) west of the Bosnian capital.

No confirmation could be immediately obtained either by the Sarajevo police or the UN International Police Task Force.

In the southern city of Mostar Croats arrested Thursday afternoon the police chief of Jablanica, Emin Zebac, a Muslim, under accusations of war crimes against Croats.

Thursday evening General Zivko Budimir, commander of the Bosnian Croat force, informed General Michael Walker, commander of NATO's ground forces in Bosnia, that his deputy, General Zeljko Siljeg, and seven members of his staff had been apprehended by Bosnian Muslim police on the outskirts of Jablanica "presumably in a tit-for-tat retaliation," Lieutenant Colonel Max Marriner, a NATO spokesman, here said. [passage omitted]

B-H: NATO Planes Accused of Dropping Hazardous Chemicals

LD2007200896 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1933 GMT 20 Jul 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Doboj, July 20 (TANJUG)—The civil defence department in Doboj, a town in northern Republika Srpska, the Serb entity in Bosnia-Herzegovina, accused on Saturday NATO planes of dropping large quantities of chemicals hazardous for the population and environment.

The civil defence department said in a statement that by dropping suffocating chemicals, NATO planes and helicopters were spreading panic among local population for quite some time. The statement said that the latest cases were registered when two NATO planes overflew Doboj and its suroundings on July 15 and NATO helicopters flew over the region of Mt. Ozren on July 19.

After several NATO plane overflights, citizens sought help in Doboj emergency medical institutions complaining about heavy breathing, throat tickling, headaches, vomiting, cough and fatigue, the statement said.

The statement said that many pigs, calves and other domestic animals had died and that other negative effects had been registered on fruit trees, crops and in forests.

A previous report on unknown and health hazardous agents dropped by NATO planes on July 15 was denied by the command of the IFOR [Implementation Force] Nordic-Polish Brigade in Doboj.

B-H: OSCE, EU Officials Leave Bijeljina After Death Threat

AU1907202196 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1847 GMT 19 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Bijeljina, 19 Jul—A European observer in Bijeljina told BETA that all European observers and the majority of OSCE representatives left the city overnight and this morning.

The observer, who wished to remain anonymous, said the OSCE representatives and European observers left "for security reasons" and that they crossed to the territory of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation.

Their departure is linked to yesterday's threat issued by Mladen Stefanovic, president of Ugljevik Municipality located some 15 kilometers from Bijeljina, who said that

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"all UN police will be captured and immediately killed if Radovan Karadzic is arrested."

Sarajevo UN spokesman Aleksandar Ivanko assessed the threat as "outrageous."

B-H: Solana on Karadzic's Withdrawal From Political Life

LD1907164996 Madrid RNE-1 Radio Network in Spanish 1600 GMT 19 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] In Bosnia, the withdrawal from political life of Serb leader Radovan Karadzic and his relinquishment of the presidency of the Serb Democratic Party has enabled the beginning of the election campaign for the September elections and the participation of this political party in the poll. Now here is the first reaction from NATO. This is what Secretary General Javier Solana has just said to RNE in Brussels.

[Begin Solana recording] It is, I believe, an important decision—it is not the definitive one, but it is important—to enable the elections to be held. Second, I would like to say that it is very important for it to be fulfilled, to be fulfilled in its entirety. There have already been many occasions when documents have been signed with the Bosnian Serbs and they have not subsequently been fulfilled. This one must be fulfilled. Third, I must say that the destination of war criminals is very clear: The destination of war criminals is The Hague. [end recording] [passage omitted]

B-H: Buha: Nobody Can Destroy Karadzic's Authority

AU2207104096 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 22 Jul 96 pp 114-115

[Interview with Bosnian Serb Foreign Minister Aleksa Buha by DER SPIEGEL; place and date not given: "Mladic Will Stay"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [DER SPIEGEL] For days, U.S. negotiator Richard Holbrooke struggled for Radovan Karadzic's resignation from all political offices. Who blocked it for such a long time—you, on behalf of your former party [Serbian Democratic Party—SDS] chairman, or Serbian President Milosevic?

[Buha] Each word of the final agreement was controversial. This is in the nature of these talks.

[DER SPIEGEL] But why? The Dayton agreement determines in a perfectly clear way that Karadzic has to give up all political functions.

[Buha] As far as the keeping of the party chairmanship is concerned, there are also different interpretations within the international community. Both U.S. President Bill Clinton and EU Envoy Carl Bildt did not define this chairmanship as an official office at first. Now Karadzic has also resigned from it—we hope that this is the last demand on us Bosnian Serbs.

[DER SPIEGEL] Has the call for the extradition of Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic to the International War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague been shelved with the agreement of Belgrade?

[Buha] As long as I participated in the talks, Holbrooke did not demand the extradition of the two to The Hague. There was no talk about General Mladic at all. He will continue to be the chief of staff of our army as long as our government considers this necessary.

[DER SPIEGEL] How do you, as Karadzic's successor as party chairman, react to the accusations from independent experts that thousands of Muslims were executed and buried in mass graves after the conquest of Srebrenica?

[Buha] First of all—there are still thousands of Serb corpses, but nobody seems to be interested in them. We will punish all war crimes, irrespective of who committed them. However, an extradition to another country is out of the question, this is prohibited by our constitution. Moreover, the Hague tribunal is a political and not a legal institution...

[DER SPIEGEL] ...a very wayward interpretation....

[Buha] ...moreover, I personally think that Karadzic and Mladic are innocent.

[DER SPIEGEL] Will you provide the two with armed troops in the future in order to protect them from the NATO troops? Will you, like your predecessor, continue to threaten with the kidnapping of UN peace troop soldiers and with bloodbaths if the two are arrested?

[Buha] No, kidnapping is out of the question. These were perhaps first, inconsiderate reactions. However, there would certainly be chaos if NATO were to embark on such an adventure, which would endanger the whole peace process. I proposed a general amnesty in Geneva because, otherwise, the freedom of movement in Bosnia will be an illusion.

[DER SPIEGEL] What does one thing have to do with the other?

[Buha] Both the Muslims and we Serbs drew up secret list of more than 1,000 war criminals of the other side, which has not been presented to the Hague tribunal. We could arrest Muslims who are on our list at any time. Even President Izetbegovic would not be spared. We have witnesses to his visit to the silos in Tarcin and Hadzici, where Serbs were imprisoned.

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[DER SPIEGEL] The Serbs in Bosnia are also tired of the war, most of them lived better before the war than today. You have not won. With which arguments do you want to win the elections of 14 September for your party?

[Buha] Our party has founded our state, the Republika Srpska [Serb Republic]. Its preservation is still the goal of the Serb people in Bosnia. Moreover, the Dayton agreement contains elements that will be revealed to all only later—among other things, the possibility that we Serbs will finally separate from the Muslim-Croat federation.

[DER SPIEGEL] Only the Serbs in Pale interpret the Dayton agreements in this way. Do you really want to risk a new war? President Izetbegovic threatened to achieve the unity of Bosnia as a state by force of arms if necessary.

[Buha] Unity will not be reestablished. From our point of view, this would be an inadmissible revision of the Dayton agreement, which clearly speaks of two sovereign entities, the Serb one and the Muslim-Croat one. We will have our own police and there will not be a joint army. Dayton clearly lays down that the army of the one entity must not cross the border of the other without authorization from the government there.

[DER SPIEGEL] Where are there to be common interests within Bosnia?

[Buha] They will be limited to common foreign trade and the agreed foreign policy.

[DER SPIEGEL] What would it mean for the Serb part if the federation of Muslims and Croats were to break apart?

[Buha] Hans Koschnick, former EU administrator of Mostar, admitted to me as early as two years ago that he does not see a chance for the unification of the City of Mostar. And Mostar is the reflection of the federation. Its end would be the end of the Dayton agreement and thus of the Bosnian state as a whole—and, in that case, we would automatically be an independent state.

[DER SPIEGEL] In Dayton, Belgrade's Serbian President Milosevic was authorized by Pale to decide on the fate of the Bosnian Serbs. Do you still think today that he shares the responsibility for your policy?

[Buha] The international community clings to Milosevic as soon as there are crisis situations. I pointed out to Mr. Holbrooke that it is high time to stop this habit. All decisions will be directly made by us in future.

[DER SPIEGEL] How will your policy differ from that of Karadzic?

[Buha] Until now, our police has never been decided by an individual person. This practice will be maintained in the future. There are perhaps differences in the personality, education, and temperament.

[DER SPIEGEL] Will you consult with your predecessor, who must no longer appear in public, on future decisions all the same?

[Buha] Nobody can destroy Karadzic's authority. In politics, one always finds examples of how people continue to determine the fate of their country without any public function. The spirit survives. In the future, I will confer with all clever people, not only—but also—with Dr. Karadzic.

B-H: Klickovic Says 'Nothing Has Changed' Despite Pressure

LD2007175496 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1615 GMT 20 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Bratunac, 20 Jul (SRNA)—Serb Republic Prime Minister Gojko Klickovic and his aides paid their first working visit to Bratunac today. He discussed the current social and economic situation with local politicians and businessmen.

Klickovic said that the international community is still putting tremendous pressure on the Serbs and the Serb Republic leadership.

"After everything that has happened, there is no reason for panic because basically nothing has changed," the Serb Republic prime minister said.

Several concrete measures to overcome the difficult situation regarding accommodation for refugees and to revive the economy were agreed at the meeting.

One of the priorities is to provide housing as soon as possible for around 500 families that are currently in collective accommodation in order to free primary and secondary schools before the next school year.

According to a report by a department of the Ministry for Refugees and Displaced Persons, there are almost no empty residential properties in Bratunac.

"I hope that some of the families will agree to go to areas where there is enough residential property, such as for example Brcko," Klickovic said.

He said that some refugees from Hadzici should go back to the Serb Sarajevo area to where the industrial facilities, which were earlier transferred to Bratunac, have been restored. [passage omitted]

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B-H: Plavsic Describes Talks With Holbrooke as 'Positive'

LD2107143996 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1254 GMT 21 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Kragujevac, 21 Jul (TANJUG)—Biljana Plavsic, acting president of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic, today described as positive last week's Belgrade talks between representatives of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY], the Serb Republic, and the United States, as well as the reached accord on a speedy normalization of the situation in Bosnia.

Explaining her comments in the "Hallmark of Time" program on Radio Kragujevac, Plavsic said: "We do not want to run any risks that could jeopardize the Serb people."

"I think the Belgrade talks and the accord reached between the representatives of the FRY, the Serb Republic, and the United States removed some obstacles that the international community had raised concerning the future of the Serb Republic," Plavsic stressed.

According to her, the future of the Serb Republic will be clear after the elections. "We hope that everything will be much better than now and, as a person discharging the duties of the president of the republic, I consider the future of the people and the state of the Serb Republic as my priority. We will try to resolve everything standing in the way to our final goal in a civilized and painless way," Plavsic stressed.

She expressed satisfaction with cooperation with Robert Frowick, the representative of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

"We would like the international community to crown with the elections the Dayton agreement. We may not be fully satisfied with it—every agreement is a compromise and the people in the Serb Republic understood that very well," Plavsic said.

B-H: Plavsic Explains Karadzic Not Essential for Policymaking

LD2007152496 Pale Srpska Radio-Televizija First Program Serb Radio in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 20 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Biljana Plavsic, acting president of the Bosnian Serb Republic, and Bosnian Serb Foreign Minister Aleksa Buha had a meeting in Pale today with representatives of the humanitarian organization Greek Caravan of Solidarity. [passage omitted]

At the end of the ceremony, correspondents asked Biljana Plavsic to comment on the outcome of the Belgrade talks between Holbrooke and the leaders of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Serb Republic.

[Begin Plavsic recording] You know that even before Mr. Holbrooke's visit, some functions had been transferred—in line with our stance—to one of the vice presidents, as is stated in the Constitution. We agreed that I should be that vice president. I took over the functions on 1 July. That request was extended during Holbrooke's visit to include the international community's demand that there should be a change at the helm of the Serb Democratic Party.

None of these things are a problem for us. Neither the work at the very top of the state bodies nor the party work depends on the opinion of one man, in this specific case, Dr. Radovan Karadzic. His opinion is regarded with as much respect as that of a group of people who lead the country and the party.

So, as for policy itself and the usual questions about whether there will be any changes: The changes will be as small as decided by the people, who will represent and interpret them, but there are really no fundamental changes because, as I said, both state and party policies are set out by a whole group of people who have remained in their posts and there will be no fundamental changes. [end recording]

B-H: Plavsic Comments on International Community 'Pressure'

LD2007161296 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1510 GMT 20 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Sarajevo, 20 Jul (SRNA)—Biljana Plavsic, acting president of the Serb Republic, told reporters in Pale today that Dr. Radovan Karadzic's resignation would not cause any fundamental changes to the way state and party policies are conducted. [passage omitted]

Commenting on the possibility of the international community continuing to exert pressure on the Serb Republic, Dr. Plavsic said that the Serb nation was used to being treated in this way from the very beginning of the war in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"We could not expect anything different in this case. The international community is still adhering to its irrational 'good and bad guys' policy. We have already grown used to this and it helped us build certain defense mechanisms," Plavsic said.

She also mentioned the hypocrisy of the international community, which officially opts for peace but, at the same time, trains and arms the forces of the Muslim-Croat Federation.

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Commenting on her future tasks, she stressed the need to solve housing problems and the problem of providing food for the population.

Plavsic added that contacts with the international community were necessary to hold the forthcoming elections in the Serb Republic and Muslim-Croat Federation without any problems.

B-H: Plavsic Declares 'No More Obstacles' to Elections

LD2007173496 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1638 GMT 20 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Jagodina, 20 Jul (TANJUG)—Biljana Plavsic, acting president of the Serb Republic, said on Radio Jagodina today that Radovan Karadzic's handing over of his state and political duties was "a wise move, which was not difficult to implement."

"On our part, there are no more obstacles to the elections, which I told Robert Frowick, head of the OSCE mission in Bosnia, yesterday and he agreed with me," Plavsic added.

She stressed that her impression was that Frowick "is a firm man who knows what he wants" and that he would not allow "any manipulation by the Muslim-Croat Federation," which is facing serious problems for which they are trying to blame the Serb Republic. He will "explain with good arguments and at the right place" the Serb Republic's stances that "there are no more obstacles to the elections."

"Our people who are in contact with Frowick's colleagues are very satisfied with their cooperation, and I have heard that his people are satisfied with the cooperation with our side, so I expect an honest approach to the election," Plavsic said. She stressed that on the Serb Republic's part, all conditions for holding the elections had been met. She recalled that seven days ago the election campaign started in the Serb Republic's media.

"As for Brcko, we want all international legal norms to be respected, which Vitomir Popovic, our representative in the arbitration commission, stated in his request," Plavsic said, and added that Popovic was an eminent expert and a professional, and "we really have nothing against that man."

B-H: Plavsic: Serbs Put Survival of Serb Republic in Forefront

LD2007190596 Pale Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 20 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Biljana Plavsic, acting president of the Serb Republic, Foreign Minister Aleksa Buha, and Minister for Veterans' Affairs Vojislav Radiskovic had a meeting today with a delegation of the Caravan of Solidarity from Greece. [passage omitted]

After meeting with the Greek delegation, Biljana Plavsic held a brief news conference at which she stressed that there were many internal issues that had to be resolved. The people in the Serb Republic do not put existential problems but the survival of the Serb Republic in the forefront, Plavsic said and added:

[Begin Plavsic recording] They put the survival of the state in the forefront, which shows a high degree of the people's maturity, because only the Serb Republic, the state—or rather, the degree of sovereignty we can have on the basis of the Dayton agreement—guarantees the people their survival. When survival is guaranteed, we can then tackle other problems, existential problems.

I (?said) that the Serb people proved their maturity in prioritizing issues and needs. We did not expect anything less than that. The Serb people are a state-building people. They put the state in the forefront. [end recording] [passage omitted]

B-H: SDS Issues Statement on Karadzic's Resignation

LD1907200996 Pale Srpska Televizija in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 19 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Today, it was announced that Dr. Radovan Karadzic was withdrawing from the post of president of the [Bosnian] Serb Republic [RS] and from the post of chairman of the Serb Democratic Party [SDS]. Dr. Biljana Plavsic will be the acting RS president until the elections, while RS Foreign Minister Dr. Aleksa Buha will discharge the office of SDS chairman until the next chairman is elected.

President Karadzic, Vice President Plavsic, RS People's Assembly Speaker Momcilo Krajisnik, and Foreign Minister Aleksa Buha signed the statement. Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and Yugoslav Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic signed as witnesses.

Regarding this, the SDS has released the following statement to the public:

Part of the international community has continued to exert pressure on the RS and the SDS of Serb Lands with the aim of preventing the party from standing in the September elections and assisting puppet parties from the RS and Muslim parties from the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, all in order to create a puppet regime here and to destroy the RS by submerging it into Bosnia-Herzegovina.

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In order to prevent these undesirable developments, President Karadzic decided first not to stand in the September elections, as he did voluntarily in the 1990 elections.

He did this in the belief that the SDS had accomplished historic achievements like no other party in the world; that the party had been consolidated through democratic internal party elections, which had resulted in the victorious party assembly on St. Vitus' Day [28 June], at which a powerful main committee had been elected; that the people who had won the 1990 elections and who had overseen the creation of the RS were SDS candidates in the September elections.

SDS political continuity and the continuity of its personnel policy have been preserved. The spirit of the SDS, which is the very spirit of the Serb people, has been preserved and is now more powerful than in 1990.

There was, however, added pressure demanding that President Karadzic step down from party functions and relinquish all influence on the elections, accompanied by the threats that the party would be barred from the elections and sanctions reimposed on Yugoslavia and the Serb Republic.

Each time in history when pressure was put on us, we mounted resistance when resistance yielded more than concessions. President Karadzic believed that this time resistance would yield less because electoral rules had been set to our disadvantage and because the organizers would do everything to rig the elections. All the votes that will arrive by mail from abroad and from the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation and Yugoslavia may be rigged and will be rigged at our expense. This is why it would be disastrous to boycott the elections. We would lose the Serb Republic.

On the contrary, President Karadzic believes that we must all vote in the elections and give our vote to the SDS to prevent puppet and Muslim parties from getting a majority of votes, which is what they need to drown the Serb Republic in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The SDS appeals to all the Serb refugees abroad and in Yugoslavia not to vote by mail, but to return to the Serb Republic because their votes will be ascribed to puppet parties whose bosses are outside the Serb Republic, or to Muslim parties. The SDS of Serb Lands has no boss above itself; it obeys only the people and God.

We should give due respect to all parties, especially the patriotic ones, and even to the puppet parties, but votes should be given to the SDS because the survival of the state is at stake.

Guided by these motives, President Karadzic decided to step down from his party functions, too, whereby the function, powers and responsibilities of the SDS chairman have been suspended until the new party election. The powers and responsibilities have been transferred to Professor Dr. Aleksa Buha, who will lead the party through the elections, together with the party deputy chairmen and other senior officials.

International pressure prevented President Karadzic from addressing the Serb people in person, but we are informing the public that the SDS knows what it is doing. It has understood our enemies' intentions and, because of that, it will avoid all traps and carry off a triumphant victory in the elections.

The spirit of the SDS, just like the spirit of the Serb Orthodox people, has been preserved and nothing can destroy it. The land is ours, we shall inherit it, and we shall soon see the back of our enemies because foreigners have succeeded one another in this region, but no one remained forever.

The forthcoming election is more than an election: This is a decision on whether to be or not to be. Our enemies are not concerned about Karadzic but about the Serb national identity and the SDS. This is yet another victory for us because the elections are in our interest. We have succeeded, and we are going on. This is why we should pay due respect to everyone but give the votes to the SDS of Serb Lands.

B-H: Karadzic Said Only 'Suspended' His Role as Party Chairman

LD1907153396 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1350 GMT 19 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 19 Jul (SRNA)—U.S. mediator Richard Holbrooke said in Belgrade today, following a marathon meeting with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, that Serb Republic President Radovan Karadzic would withdraw from all public functions, including the chairmanship of the Serb Democratic Party [SDS] today.

Holbrooke said that this opened up the path to holding the first postwar elections in former Bosnia.

The U.S. mediator said that President Karadzic and his closest aides had signed a document on his withdrawal from all functions exerting influence on the Serb Republic's policy, in the presence of two witnesses—Milosevic and FRY Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic.

SRNA has learned from Yugoslav diplomatic sources in Belgrade that Karadzic has not stepped down from the position of the SDS chairman but that he suspended his role as chairman. The acting chairman of the ruling party will be Serb Republic Foreign Minister Aleksa Buha.

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SRNA's Belgrade source also said that the SDS would today issue a statement confirming this decision. The statement from Pale is expected to be issued this afternoon.

The main point at the end of yet another exciting political week in Belgrade is whether everything indeed is over and whether this means that no more conditions will be put on holding the elections.

SRNA's source says that it will possible to say that all American pressure is over only if the Serbs' final concession shows that the political set-up in Pale will undergo essential changes. However, all indicators show that the latest events have not put in jeopardy the SDS position, which was Washington's main goal.

"Holbrooke is cockily bragging about his latest success, but the big question is whether he is satisfied with what he has achieved because, judging by the length and dramatic quality of the talks with Milosevic, issues much more serious than Karadzic's stepping down from power were at stake," the diplomat said.

He concluded that the issue of holding the elections in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina was still open, although judging by the first reactions to the Serbs' agreement with Holbrooke, one would not say so.

B-H: 'American Power-Wielders' Blamed for Karadzic's Demise

LD1907163296 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1357 GMT 19 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 19 Jul (TANJUG)—Vojilav Kostunica, chairman of the Democratic Party of Serbia [DSS], said today that Radovan Karadzic's withdrawal from the position of the Serb Democratic Party chairman, which had not been requested under the Dayton agreement, was a result of the international community's constant pressure.

"The U.S. Government sought explanations for the failure to implement the civilian part of the Dayton agreement, especially for the problems with Washington's Muslim-Croat Federation, where they cannot be found—on the Serb side," Kostunica said in a statement distributed to media.

He believes that the pressure should not be expected to stop, at least not for the duration of the U.S. President's election campaign, and the Serb Republic leaders "should have known earlier that they would have to accept such a concession, as well as many more similar ones in the future."

"Karadzic today, someone else tomorrow. Perhaps it will ultimately best suit the American power-wielders to exclude the Serbs altogether from the Serb Republic's public life," the DSS chairman said.

B-H: MBO Says Karadzic's Withdrawal 'Trap' for World Community

LD2007213096 Sarajevo BH PRESS in Serbo-Croatian 1515 GMT 20 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 20 Jul (BH PRESS)—Radovan Karadzic's statement on stepping down from the position of Serb Republic president comes as no surprise. That is a logical move of a criminal subjected to fierce condemnations and a rarely seen amount of political pressure. That statement is the result of the uncompromising American stance that he has to be removed from the political scene, a statement issued by the Main Committee of the Muslim Bosniak Organization [MBO] today says.

The MBO believes that Karadzic has not in fact removed himself from the political scene as long as he is physically present in the region. This is just an apparent withdrawal, a deception, and a trap in which the international community could fall. Karadzic will be politically neutralized only when he is sent to The Hague from where he will be unable to engage in political activity.

"What has he given in exchange for this formal act, and was it paid for by the territory of Brcko or some other part of Bosnia-Herzegovina?" the MBO asks.

Karadzic appointed hard-line Biljana Plavsic, who is an outspoken representative of the policy of breaking Bosnia-Herzegovina apart, hence the MBO warns that all relevant players in the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the European Union, and the United Nations must examine Karadzic's statement carefully and in great detail in order to prevent any deception and to put that criminal behind bars as soon as possible.

B-H: Commentary Assesses Results of Karadzic Withdrawal

AU2207140996 Sarajevo VECERNJE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 22 Jul 96 p 2

[Commentary by Fuad Cibukcic: "The Wolf Is Satiated and the Sheep Are All There"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "The accused war criminals should face the process of justice in The Hague, but this is a very long and hard path...." This was the statement by special U.S. envoy Richard Holbrooke, in which he admitted the partial success of his mission. The main accused person in Pale [Radovan Karadzic] signed a statement that he is withdrawing from political and public life, but he is not packing his suitcases for The

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Hague. It was the Americans, NATO, the OSCE, and the tribunal in The Hague who were promising that Bosnia-Herzegovina will only be peaceful when Radovan Karadzic and Serb Army General Ratko Mladic leave for the Dutch capital.

In this whole story, those who should have smiles on their faces are Slobodan Milosevic [Serbian president] and the head of the OSCE mission, Ambassador Robert H. Frowick. The former because he has, for now, avoided the possibility that the political and military leaders of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Serbs would also be the main witnesses to testify against him in The Hague. With this move, the leader [Milosevic] has removed the danger of the oft-mentioned word "sanctions," which the White House mentioned too many times this last week for the Serb taste. In the end, the Serb nationalist parties in Serbia and Montenegro will not point their finger at Milosevic as a traitor. With his threat to the Pale leadership that the SDS [Serb Democratic Party] would be banned from taking part in the September elections unless its (former) chairman resigned, Ambassador Frowick brought the date set for the election, 14 September, into question. Had Karadzic not stepped down, the SDS would not have taken part in the elections. According to the system of dictate, Pale would have persuaded the voters in the Serb Republic to boycott the elections, and the election process would not be complete without a normal procedure in the Serb Republic. The entire matter is now in a happy mid-phase until September. After 14 September, the election results in the Serb Republic could announce a new Karadzic?! If we sum it all up, we reach the fact that Karadzic and Mladic are still in Pale and in Han Pijesak, Milosevic is without any sanctions, and Frowick has the elections. Therefore, the wolf is satiated and the sheep are all there. The question is: Who is the wolf, the White House or Belgrade?!

B-H: Prlic, OSCE's Frowick Discuss Elections, Displaced Persons

AU1907191396 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 19 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] In Sarajevo today, Bosnia-Herzegovina Foreign Minister Jadranko Prlic met with the head of the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe] mission, Ambassador Robert Frowick. Minister Prlic stressed the OSCE's significant role in the implementation and organization of the elections, and particularly stressed the OSCE offices' tasks in countries that took in large numbers of refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina. Moreover, Prlic positively assessed the extension of the deadline for checking voting registers, which has been moved from 19 to 31 July of this year. This decision has significantly increased the chances of a large number of refugees and displaced persons checking whether their names have been entered on voting registers, without which they cannot vote.

Ambassador Frowick acquainted Minister Prlic with the activities of the mission and its offices in European countries and stressed that the OSCE has printed 2 million ballots [glasacki komplet] for refugees and displaced persons (words indistinct).

B-H: Krajisnik Pledges To Defend Serb Independence if Elected

LD2107194096 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 21 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Banja Luka, 21 Jul (SRNA)—The first election rally of the ruling Bosnian Serb Democratic Party [SDS] was held on Mount Vucjak near Prnjavor [northern Bosnia] today, on the fifth anniversary of the shock unit of the Bosnian Serb Army—the Vucjak Wolves.

Amid an ovation, several thousand locals greeted the speakers, among whom was Momcilo Krajisnik, the SDS candidate for the Presidency of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Union.

Krajisnik, speaker of the Serb Parliament, warned about daily pressure and blackmail to which the world powers were subjecting the Serb Republic with the aim of dissolving it and creating a single Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"The Dayton agreement is absolutely clear about Bosnia-Herzegovina and about the intensity of relations between the Muslim-Croat federation and the Serb Republic," Krajisnik said, stressing that the international community had different standards for the Serb Republic and for the federation.

As an example of the West's discriminatory attitude to the Serbs, the speaker of the Serb Republic People's Assembly spoke of its conduct vis-a-vis the discovered Serb graves.

"The West remains silent about the discovery of the Serb graves, and instead of condemning [Muslim and Croat atrocities against the Serbs] it is fabricating reports on new Muslim and Croat mass graves," Krajisnik said.

"While demands are being issued to us to ensure freedom of movement the Serbs who accidentally enter the federation [of Bosnia-Herzegovina] are being arrested. Economic aid is also given only to the federation," Krajisnik went on to say.

However, he said, "those who wish to reintegrate Bosnia-Herzegovina are not aware of one thing—the

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Serb people do not put a material or financial price on their freedom and state."

According to Krajisnik, the SDS and the Serb Republic leadership will not accept any decisions that contravene the Dayton agreement and which are aimed against the Serb people.

"The SDS will defend the state which it [SDS] has created—the Serb Republic," Momcilo Krajisnik, the speaker of the Serb Republic People's Assembly and SDS candidate for the presidency of the Union of Bosnia-Herzegovina, told the people of Mt. Vucjak.

In the conclusion of his first election campaign address Krajisnik made the following promise:

"If I am elected Serb Republic representative to the presidency of the Union of Bosnia-Herzegovina, I will honorably and persistently defend the independence of the Serb Republic and will fight for the rights that belong to the Serb people." [passage omitted]

B-H: Krajisnik: RS Leaders See Brcko More Important Than Peace

AU2107171996 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1457 GMT 21 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Pale, 21 Jul—Serb Republic [RS] Assembly Chairman Momcilo Krajisnik said today that the RS leadership considers territorial integrity, that is, Brcko, more important than peace.

Addressing a rally on Vucjak near Prnjavor in honor of the fifth anniversary of the Wolves of Vucjak unit, Krajisnik said that the international community would use the elections rules and arbitration of Brcko to try to break the RS, Pale media have reported.

"The Serb Democratic Party [SDS] and the RS leadership will not agree to any decision that would be in contradiction to the Dayton accord and the interests of the Serb nation," Krajisnik said.

"SDS and the Serb people will not allow the international community to use the elections to install a puppet government in the RS," Krajisnik said.

B-H: IFOR Spokesman Discusses 'Harassment' of Serbs

AU1907190396 Hanau NOVA BOSNA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Jul 96 p 3

[ONASA report: "Criticism of Bosnia Herzegovina Government"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 18 July (ONASA)—The UN mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina received reports on the increased harassment of the Serbs from the Sarajevo suburbs of Vogosca and Osjek, UN spokesman in Sarajevo Aleksandr Ivanko announced yesterday.

"In Vogosca, granaries were set on fire, one could hear shooting, and families were threatened that they will be killed if they do not leave," he said at the regular IFOR [Implementation Force] news conference in Sarajevo.

"In Osjek, we were approached by numerous families that begged us to help in their resettlement. If the Bosnian Government truly wants multiethnicity, as it says, than it has wasted its chance in Sarajevo. The people there are maltreated on a daily basis, families are being threatened, and we believe that the Bosnian Government is doing absolutely nothing to prevent this," the UN spokesman added.

He voiced hope that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government will do something about this issue, the UN International Police Task Force (IPTF) send another 10 of its observers to Ilidza and Osjek and formed IPTF teams to visit the families that reported maltreatment.

"We are doing this because we feel that the Bosnian Government is not doing anything, and somebody must fill this void. We hope and believe that the Bosnian Government is at least well aware of the existence of problems, which is good. However, the snag is that they are doing nothing to prevent them," Ivanko said.

He also said that the United Nations has, on several occasions, discussed this with Interior Minister in Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation Government Avdo Hebib and the local police commanders.

Asked whether he now believes that, at the time of the reintegration, the international community made a mistake in persuading the local population that they would not encounter any problems if they remained in their homes, Ivanko said that, on that occasion, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government offered guarantees that there would be no harassment of the Serbs and concluded: "Perhaps we could have acted differently."

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Croatia: Weekly Views U.S. 'Equip and Train' Program

AU2207082096 Split NEDJELJNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Jul 96 p 36-37

["Military analysis" by Mario Galic: "The United States Gives Old Tanks as a Present!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Although the Federal Defense Law has been adopted, all the problems regarding the formation of the joint armed forces of the Federation have not yet been solved by a long way. The issue of civil command remains the largest unsolved problem—that is, who can make a political decision to use the armed forces and for what purpose? This question is not at all harmless because in the not so distant future a situation could occur in which the Muslims will decide to use the joint armed forces in order to realize goals that would not correspond to the objectives of local Croats. Therefore, any incomplete and partial definition of who the supreme commander is could result in serious consequences in the future.

Immediately upon the adoption of the law by the Federation Assembly, Washington issued a statement that the time had come to start the final part of the "Equip and Train" program, the main sponsor of which is the United States. Judging by everything, the implementation of that program will also be accompanied by serious difficulties. Namely, according to the first plan, one first had had to collect $800 million to finance the formation of a new federation army. So far, more than a modest $240 million has been collected, of which the United States has given $100 million. The fund-raising got stuck in the face of overt resistance by the leading European states, which have persistently lobbied against the armament of the states that emerged on the territory of former Yugoslavia, and particularly against arming the armies within Bosnia-Herzegovina, but it also got stuck on the rich Islamic countries.

Resistance of Paris and London

The Clinton administration had expected resistance from France, Great Britain, and other European countries, but it had not expected that rich countries like Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, Egypt, Malaysia, and Pakistan would give a miserable $140 million for the program. When one views the total financial potential of more than 100 Muslim states, one can draw the conclusion that the leading Islamic countries were not too enthusiastic about the possibility of financing U.S. influence in the Balkans from their own funds, and, moreover, about directly financing the spread of Western influence to the only homogeneous Islamic community in Europe. Thus, at the very start, the plan to collect $800 million failed.

Instead of $800 million, only $240 million has been collected, which is just a bit more than a quarter. Although the "Equip and Train" program envisaged only a limited armament of, primarily, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, the lack of money will make the purchase of adequate weapons more difficult. The price of purchasing only 46,100 M-16 automatic rifles (5.56-mm) and 1,000 M-2 HG heavy machine guns (12.7-mm), and the necessary ammunition and spare parts, amounts to at least $40 million. An additional difficulty is created by the fact that, so far, almost exclusively small arms of 7.62 x 39 caliber (for the AK-47) have been used in the wars on the territory of former Yugoslavia, and the NATO standard 7.62 x 51 to a lot lesser extent. The adoption of a completely new caliber means further expenses for the purchase of the hundreds of tons of ammunition necessary for the operational introduction of new rifles and machine guns.

U.S. M-16 Rifle

A completely different question: the quality of the U.S. M-16 assault rifle. It is light, accurate, and easy to use. It has only one flaw—it is chronically unreliable. As every rifle is made for shooting, unreliability is a serious flaw that annuls all the "slick" characteristics of the M-16. However, that is the standard rifle of the U.S. Armed Forces, and it would not be opportune to ask the United States to supply the Federation forces with the French FA-MAS, the Belgian FNC, or the Israeli Galil rifle. If the U.S. troops have to put up with all the flaws of the M-16, then the "Bosnian" troops will also have to put up with them.

The lack of the money they need to buy heavy weapons causes a far worse headache for the Bosniak generals. After at least $40 million is spent on the purchase of rifles and machine guns, only about $200 million is left in the "piggy bank." And that is definitely not enough. Since the army needs literally everything, both small arms and fighter planes, some compromises have been made. Instead of 45 very modern Abrams tanks, which would drastically change the balance of power in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the army had to be satisfied with 45 out-of-date M60A3 tanks. The price is the crucial factor because the purchase of 45 Abrams A1 tanks, with the necessary ammunition and spare parts, would cost at least $150 million. The purchase of 45 M60A3s will cost half that (some $75 million). That the combat value of a M60A3 is incomparably lower than that of an Abrams is a completely different matter.

The assembly-line production of the M60 started as early as in 1960, when the performance of anti-armor

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weapons was several times weaker than today. At that time this U.S. tank was among the better tanks of the so-called second generation. As the quality of antiarmor weapons increased (particularly of antiarmor rockets), M60 underwent modernization. The new version was named the M60A1 and was supplied with strengthened frontal body and turret armor. Thanks to a favorable ballistic shape of the turret, its frontal armor is 260-mm thick. In the sixties, that kind of protection was quite sufficient. Nowadays, armor of that thickness can be pierced by almost any contemporary antiarmor device. Based on the M60A1, the M60A3 version was developed, with a far better firing direction system (SUP) and a 105-mm gun. Thus, the combination of a contemporary SUP and a good gun gives the M60A3 a superior combat performance than the T-55. In a direct duel with M-84 tanks, the M60A3 would have no chance.

At the Level of the T-55

Apart from all that, a M60A3 is a huge tank, with a height of more than 3 meters and, equipped for combat, it weighs 52,617 kg. And while height can sometimes be an advantage (to be true, rarely), its weight certainly cannot. Therefore, the M60A3 has a very poor maximum speed of 46 km/hour. In any case, the fire power of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army will certainly increase when it receives 45 M60 tanks. True, it would increase even if it received equally old T-55 tanks or any other first or second generation tank.

Apart from the arrival of 45 tanks, the arrival of 80 M113 armored personnel carriers has also been announced. If the arrival of M60 tanks has at least some kind of combat value, then the arrival of 80 M113 has no value at all; if the original carriers arrive, without additional armor protection. The M113 entered service in the same year as the M60. Since then, more than 70,000 vehicles have been produced in a large number of versions. Ordinary personnel carriers, ambulances, and carriers armed with 120-mm mortars, antiarmor, and antiaircraft rocket systems. The majority of the M113s that arrive in Bosnia will probably be supplied with one of those weapons because the use of the M113 as a personnel carrier no longer makes sense. Its modest 44-mm armor does not offer even the slightest protection against rockets with cumulative warheads.

As the M113 as armored personnel carrier does not have great combat value, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army will most probably get one of the versions armed, for instance, with a TOW antiarmor rocket launcher. The TOW guided antiarmor rocket system, with its new TOW-2 rockets, has no difficulties in piercing the armor of a M-84 tank. Its maximum range is 3,750 meters, which is more than enough for the Bosnian conditions.

As a light antiarmor rocket system, Dragon, weighing 11.1 kg, is far more appropriate. This relatively small antiarmor rocket has a maximum range of 1 km. Its biggest shortcoming is a small warhead capable of piercing 600-mm of homogeneous steel, which therefore does not provide a 100-percent probability of the destruction of a M-84 tank. Both TOW and Dragon have advanced targeting devices that make firing possible in all weather conditions and at night, and, therefore, they will be the most powerful weapons of the future Federation armed forces.

Helicopters From Vietnam

The lack of dollars will not be reflected only in the purchase of armor. If some generous sponsor does not soon appear, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army will not get antiarmor combat helicopters either but rather, for the time being, 15 Bell UH-1 Huey helicopters. This is a light transport helicopter known from Vietnam movies. It can be fitted with rocket and artillery systems, but its value as a combat helicopters is very small. Thus, for some time, the Croatian Mi-24 will remain the king of the battlefield in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In the last couple of days rumors have spread that an anonymous sponsor could give an additional $120 million to the "Equip and Train" fund. If those rumors prove to be true, then the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the HVO [Croatian Defense Council], too, could get additional modern weapons, like modern 155-mm howitzers, multiple rocket launchers, and short-range antiaircraft weapons. Otherwise, the M60A3 tanks, the M113 armored personnel carriers, and antiarmor rockets will only go some way in equalizing the balance of power in relation to the "Army of the Serb Republic."

Croatia: Milicevic on Progress of Peaceful Reintegration

AU2207103496 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 18 Jul 96 p 7

[Interview with Josip Milicevic, deputy chief of the Transitional Police in Croatian Podunavlje, by Drago Veselcic; place and date not given: "There Is No More 'Militia' in Croatia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Dark blue police uniforms with TIPF-POLICE [Transitional International Police Force] insignia have been regularly patrolling the roads of Croatian Podunavlje [Danube river basin] for three weeks. Their presence in that region is accompanied with minor difficulties, and the basic police tasks of joint patrolling have been carried out according to the

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scheduled plan. Thus, the first steps of the process of peaceful reintegration of Croatian Podunavlje have been realized, those which are under jurisdiction of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and which are carried out in line with the Working Program of the Government of RH [the Republic of Croatia].

Although a Serb, Petar Djukic, is the head of the Transitional Police, his deputy Josip Milicevic, longtime MUP [Ministry of Internal Affairs—police] officer, who is a refugee from the occupied village of Marinci himself, has more or less same authorities and tasks.

Working Together Is Possible

[Milicevic] Since 1 July, when the Transitional Police started work, there have been no incidents, which removed fears that it would be impossible for a Croatian policeman and a Serbian militiaman [to work together]. I think that it is the result of well-organized preparations through numerous tripartite talks and education of the police officers themselves at the international police academy ILEA in Budapest. For the time being, the thing we insist on is being implemented—the implementation of all the tasks after the end of the process of demilitarization and the report of the UN Secretary General and the temporary Administrator J.P. Klein.

At the moment in the territory of Croatian Podunavlje there are 145 MUP members, the same number of Serb officers, and a somewhat smaller number of UNTAES [UN Transitional Administration in Eastern Slavonia] members, which depends on the needs of the moment. In the first weeks of their work, they have been going into joint patrols on the roads Osijek-Bilje, Nemetin-Sarvas, Nustar-Brsadin, and Vinkovci-Mirkovci, and on a part of the highway ending in Lipovac.

[Veselcic] Joint patrols represent the first step in the implementation of several significant MUP tasks. What can we expect in the next months?

[Milicevic] In the next two months the joint police patrols will spread their control on the roads Osijek-Vukovar, Osijek-Tenja, Osijek-Tenjski Antunovac-Ernestinovo, and Vinkovci-Marinci-Vukovar. Simultaneously, it is envisaged that all police stations and police offices within the framework of the Vukovar-Srijem and Osijek-Baranja Police Administration start functioning. Thus, in the territory of the Vukovar-Srijem PU [Police Administration], there will be police stations established in Vukovar, Ilok, Tovarnik, and Borovo. Apart from the basic police, there should also be stations of the border police formed in Ilok, Vukovar, and Tovarnik. In the territory of the Osijek-Baranja PU there will be police stations established in Ernestinovo and Dalj, then police stations of basic and traffic police in Beli Manastir, with the branch offices in Batina and Erdut. The same way, along with the reconstruction of Klisa airport, a police station would also be established in Klisa.

More and More Security

[Veselcic] Will the policemen also have international police insignia or they will wear Croatian uniforms?

[Milicevic] July and August should, in a certain way, be trial months, and at the beginning of September the policemen in that area should be wearing Croatian uniforms. Certain changes have already been made. On all police buildings and other facilities, there are no more "militia" signs. Their plaques have also been removed and replaced with TIPF-POLICE notices. So, there is no more "militia" in Croatia, and regarding everything that has happened over the last five years, it has an exceptional psychological importance. At the moment neutral international uniforms and insignia are, nevertheless, the most acceptable way of working because we ourselves are aware that everything should be gradually implemented and that one should not give the slightest cause for any kind of incident.

[Veselcic] Every day, numerous Croatian delegations, working teams, journalists, and many others enter Croatian Podunavlje. Can one say that already now that area is safe?

[Milicevic] There is no doubt that the level of security is growing bigger day by day. While numerous officials or journalists arrive in Podunavlje for a shorter period of time, there are teams that work on mine clearing at Lipovac every day here, who themselves can prove that they have had no difficulties. The same is true of the teams that worked on clearing mines from the railroads, and that shows that UNTAES has successfully implemented the process of demilitarization. There are no more paramilitary Serb formations, and that is the basis of a higher level of security.

Wages Explain Everything

[Veselcic] In what way have the Serb policemen accepted work in the joint patrols, and was there any kind of resistance regarding their insignia being abolished?

[Milicevic] Regardless of the fact we are talking about the policemen who have lived throughout all these years in an environment in which everything that belongs to Croatia had been disgraced; during their education in Hungary, they have very quickly realized that the Croatian policemen are no bogeymen and that they are professionals who carry out their orders according to a program scheduled in advance. True, in part of their policemen one can notice a certain apathy and

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indifference. I explain that with the fact that their wages come months late and because they are significantly less than those of our policemen. Certainly, the fact that their Croatian colleagues do not face even a part of the problems they encounter does not help. Apart from that, with some Serbian policemen it is obvious that they are fed up with war and that by wearing international uniforms they want to show that they are ready for peaceful reintegration and final establishment of peace in this region.

[Veselcic] Apart from the jobs associated with control of the roads, they have announced the establishment of the basic police force and implementation of the jobs from their sphere of work soon. Does that mean that, for instance, personal identification documents will be issued in Vukovar?

[Milicevic] In the next couple of months, the Croatian police, that is, the Department of Administration and Inspection and Foreigners, in line with the regulations on Croatian citizenship, will be receiving applications for Croatian citizenship. Based upon that, all other necessary identification documents will be issued, as well as registration of residence and contemporary residence, personal documents, passports, and driver's and traffic licenses. According to that, certainly, it will soon be proved in that region, too, whether the citizens who at the moment live in Croatian Podunavlje support peaceful reintegration in practice.

[Box, p 7]

Ivica, Jovan, and John Can Work Together

Although they are primarily police professionals who must not express their feelings while at work, there were nevertheless doubts whether three-member joint patrols will function. For the time being, as the inhabitants of Slavonia wittily observe, Ivica, Jovan, and John can work together at the same job. Croatian policemen have an "advantage" over their Serbian colleagues because they have better and regular wages and because in conversation they can only listen to Serbian lamentation about hard conditions of life. The UNTAES employees are more or less not interested in that, but most often they talk to Croatian policemen because their knowledge of English is better.

[Box, p 7]

Serbs Mind Croatian Cars

As far as the joint police patrols—on five roads at the moment—are concerned, there are problems only with the control of the highway all the way to Lipovac. Serb policemen still do not want to participate in joint patrols on that road because they allegedly mind police cars with Croatian insignia passing there, and they mind Croatian state insignia on the Bajakovo border crossing. However, I think that the problem will soon be solved, because the Transitional Administrator General Klein is also explicit in the implementation of his stands, and they have always been carried out so far.

Croatia: Slavonia Leader Warns of 'Large-Scale Serb Exodus'

AU2107173496 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1055 GMT 21 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Kragujevac, 21 Jul—Goran Hadzic, president of the Serb region of eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and western Srem said today that nothing had been done to help the region and that it was blocked from all sides.

In the Radio Kragujevac "Hallmark of Time" program, Hadzic said that the Serb side had honored all obligations, particularly in regard to demilitarization which was successfully completed, and that it was necessary to revive the region's economy. However, Hadzic stressed "so far, despite great promises, the UN Transitional Administration in Eastern Slavonia [UNTAES] has not invested a single dollar for this purpose."

"This has caused concern among the people regarding the final solution because it is obvious that we have been manipulated and that the international community representatives have lied to us to some degree," Hadzic said.

"It is obvious that an artificial economic blockade has been maintained against us to force us to agree to certain political solutions to which we are certainly not going to agree," Hadzic added.

He stressed that Eastern Slavonia citizens would not agree to live in an undemocratic Croatia at any cost, and that another large-scale Serb exodus from the region was possible.

"We shall try to find our future in other parts of Europe, primarily in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY], but if we are not given a warm reception by the FRY—and there is indication that this might be so—we shall not stay in Croatia but shall move further afield," Hadzic said.

The region has submitted a request for the extension of the UNTAES mandate for another year on the basis of the Erdut Agreement because "certain representatives of the international community are behaving as if our side does not exist."

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He assessed that it would take over a year to fully implement the Erdut Agreement.

Croatia: Serb Official Zigic Interviewed on Prospects

AU2007200896 Beli Manastir Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 18 Jul 96

[Report on interview with Vaso Zigic, president of the executive council of the Beli Manastir municipal assembly; place and date not given; read by announcer from page 1 of BARANJSKA REC, new newspaper first published in Beli Manastir on 18 July by the (?Giros) company: "Baranja—an Oasis of Peace Again"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In the foreseeable future we want to assure the international community and show it—in which, I must admit, we have their support—that the abundance of life and work of the people in the Baranja area will be preserved in the interest of all its people, but also that all the values that Europe demands and expects will be maintained.

People here have lived in accordance with European standards of human rights for a long time, and now it is also necessary for us to see economic development here, to get the economy going, as this is the best guarantee that the people will stay here.

For instance, the world could here in Baranja show those who want war and hatred among peoples that it is possible to live in peace and happiness by acknowledging everyone and their work, regardless of their nationality or religious affiliation. This is why I see Baranja as a European region under EU patronage, and this entire area as a factor of peace in this part of Europe.

Time will heal many of the wounds, and this is why getting people close must be taken slowly, as any rash move may create a fire that will result in more casualties.

International forces assure us, as Mr. Klein has also confirmed recently, that the Serbs, as well as all the others, should stay in this area, and that their safety is guaranteed, which has had a soothing effect on the people here. We were scared; many even took their property across the Danube, but they are gradually returning. There is an increasing interest among the refugees from the western parts of the Krajina to find a home and job here and get on with their lives. So far 17,000 refugees have settled here, and we can settle more, but a considerable number of houses and other buildings have been destroyed, and we need funds to repair them.

We have been getting help of the companies and institutions from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Times are difficult for everyone, but we are not giving up because the worst is behind us. The number of hectares of land involved in this spring's sowing was the highest since the war began, companies are going back to the production levels from before the war—this is as much a result of demobilization as of everyone's determination that it is only through work that a better standard of living can be secured at present, said Zigic.

We asked the representatives of the UNTAES [UN Transitional Administration for Eastern Slavonia] for help. We presented to them our plans for the reconstruction and revitalization of the Baranja economy and the private sector, and we expect that they will help.

With the opening of the railroads towards Croatia and Hungary and of the Knezevo border-crossing, the reestablishment of mail and telecommunications, and the establishment of trade relations Baranja will, after five years, rejoin international communications and trade, added Zigic.

We may well actualize in peace time what we managed to defend during the war [as heard]. The senior officials of the transitional administration have asked us to provide maximum cooperation, as they will acknowledge the local authorities, but at the same time they told us in a clear, precise, and well-argued way that we should inform them of what the Serbs and other citizens in the area want and what they aspire to. [sentence as heard]

We know that this kind of relations within the region will last a while. General Klein said so himself. Whether it is going to be special status, autonomy, or something else is up to these people to make clear in the upcoming period.

As far as UNTAES is concerned, I think that in the several months they have been here they have come to understand the real situation on the ground, and that they will make unbiased decisions that will be primarily in the interest of stable peace in this area as well as of a just solution to the Serb issue.

With the abolition law, the pensions, and the media Croatia is still trying to cheat the international public, but the boomerang returns soon, said Vaso Zigic, adding that the people of Baranja has during the years of war, and particularly in the past several months, become politically mature, which is a guarantee that they will stay here.

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Croatia: Serbs Protest 'Condoning' of Zagreb's Policy

LD2207134596 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1248 GMT 22 Jul 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, July 22 (TANJUG)—The Association of Serbs from the former Republic of Serb Krajina and Croatia said Monday [22 July] that international factors condoned Croatia's hypocritical, two-faced and genocidal policy while discriminating against Serbs.

The association said in a released statement that Serbs in the Serb region of East Slavonia, Baranja and West Srem were subjected to pressures and threats of Croatian authorities and injustices on the part of the international community.

It urged the international community to take a realistic view of the position of Serbs in the Serb region since the current policy did not help resolve problems and did not guarantee peace.

The condoning of Croatia's policy and favouring of its interests is a cause of the Serb population's 'dissatisfaction and lack of confidence in all factors of the international community, including the U.N. Transitional Administration (UNTAES),' the statement said.

The Serb region is the only part of the Republic of Serb Krajina which has not been occupied by Croatia.

The region has been placed under the Transitional U.N. Administration for one year, or two at the most, under the Erdut agreement reached late last year.

Serb region authorities officially requested of the U.N. Security Council late last week to extend the UNTAES mandate to two years because of lack of cooperation by the Croatian side and the latter's attempts to flout the Erdut agreement.

The Serb region authorities specified that Croatian authorities were especially trying to avoid implementating the agreement's provision under which conditions are to be secured for all refugees and displaced persons to return to their homes.

The Women's Association of Vukovar protested twice last week outside the UNTAES headquarters, demanding to know whether UNTAES had the mandate to defend the Serb population in case of a Croatian military or police operation.

The women also insisted on knowing whether UNTAES guaranteed that Croatia would respect the human rights of Serbs once the Transitional U.N. Administration ended and what the UNTAES had done to create conditions for the return of Serb refugees.

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FYROM: Detention of Aircraft in Greece Protested

LD1907205796 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2027 GMT 19 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Skopje, 19 Jul (TANJUG)—The Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] Foreign Ministry today sent a protest note to Greece, via the liaison office in Skopje, because of the temporary detention of an aircraft belonging to the Macedonian air carrier Palair Makedonija on 16 July at Korfu airport. The aircraft was prevented from taking off because of the company's name displayed on it.

The note expresses surprise, as well as concern and disagreement, with the way the relevant Greek authorities acted on this occasion. [passage omitted]

FYROM: Albanians Demonstrate at Tetovo University

LD2207135996 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1315 GMT 22 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Skopje, 22 Jul (SRNA)—About 2,000 [ethnic] Albanians surrounded a prison in Tetovo where Professor Dr. Fadilj Sulejmani, dean of the so-called Tetovo university, who has been sentenced to 12 months' imprisonment, has begun serving his term.

The demonstrators carried Albanian flags and shouted slogans in Albanian against the Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] state and Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski's government.

About 20 of the most belligerent protesters reached the prison door, but the police dispersed them. After that, the infuriated crowd set off toward the town center breaking windows and stoning several policemen on the way.

The meeting was attended by several leaders of ethnic Albanian political parties which were the main organizers of the protest.

Strong police forces blocked off the approaches to Tetovo and stepped up security around all important buildings.

The FYROM Government rejected the Albanians' demands to open the so-called Tetovo university, at which courses would be held in Albanian only.

FYROM: PDPA, NDP Deputies Withdraw From Assembly

AU1907182196 Skopje MIC in English 19 Jul 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] "Following consultations with the Albanian associations in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], we have made a decision to walk out of the Assembly," the letter of the representatives of PDPA [Party for Democratic Prosperity of Albanians in Macedonia] and NDP [People's Democratic Party] to the chairman of the Macedonian Assembly, says.

"We bear no responsibility for the possible crisis of the political system and the permanent danger to the peace and stability in Macedonia, the Balkans and wider," the representatives of PDPA and NDP write.

"We are withdrawing from Parliament due to yesterday's refusal to place the question of institutionalization of the Tetovo university on the daily agenda, as well as the law on tertiary education, the killing of Abduselam Emini in Mala Rechica last year, and the passing of the verdicts to imprison certain members of the leadership of the Tetovo university," the representative of PDPA Zekjir Kadriu stated.

FYROM: Albanians Attack Shepherds, Rustle 183 Lambs

LD1907162496 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1144 GMT 19 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Skopje, 19 Jul (SRNA)—The Foreign Ministry of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM] today announced that four Albanian nationals, armed with pistols, inflicted serious bodily injuries on two Macedonian shepherds and on this occasion rustled 183 lambs and took them across to the Albanian territory.

The incident took place near Pesok, three kilometers into FYROM territory, the statement said.

Through diplomatic channels, the FYROM's Foreign Ministry informed the Albanian side about this border incident, demanding that culprits be found without delay and the lambs returned.

If this does not happen within a reasonable period of time, the FYROM Government will send a protest note to the Albanian Government, the statement said.

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Poland: Politicians, Officials Queried on EU Membership

WS1907123096 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 15 Jul 96 p 5

[Article by Janusz Lewandowski, Polish Freedom Union leader and privatization minister in former Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka's cabinet: "The Electoral Dilemma of the Post-August Camp"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *There has never been a meeting in which Western politicians or parliamentarians participated during which a question or rather a reproach would not have been raised as to why Poland has no national strategy for joining the EU. How do we ourselves view the preparation of our specific economic sectors for dynamic competition on the West European market? When will Poland be able to accept the entire legislation of the EU and when will it be able to implement it in various spheres of life? Or would perhaps at first Poland like to adapt itself—as adequately as possible—to the EU demands and only then join the European structures? Or would it do the other way around: would Poland like to reduce the waiting time for becoming a EU member-state and, after being granted this status, to demand that the EU stretch out the timeframes during which it would be able to adapt itself to the direction of development in its partner states? Is Poland anxious to see the EU only as a common market? Or, on the contrary, is Poland anxious to see the EU as an economic, currency, and political union?*

At first sight, answers to all these questions are known. Polish politicians, both from the post-August and the post-communist camp, have repeatedly made statements, and what is more important—statements in a similar tone. Despite all this, there is a need that the government draft a clear-cut strategy for Poland's rapprochement with the EU, a strategy which would have been understandable for Polish economic entities, the administration, and all institutions dealing with the European integration as well as for our foreign partners.

The Sejm Commission for EU Issues, headed by Deputy Jan Borkowski from the Polish Peasant Party [PSL], was the first to notice this need. At the request of the PSL, the Sejm passed a resolution on 14 March 1996 to "prepare Poland for EU membership." The Sejm asked the Council of Ministers to "intensify its activities and to effectively implement legal and economic transformations" which would lead the country to EU membership. The Sejm appealed to the government to draft a relevant national strategy and to submit it to the Sejm in 1996.

It is not ruled out that this timeframe will be observed. The government has at its disposal six full months. The outlining of this strategy must not be difficult, because there already exists a valuable "scientific aid": the White Paper where the EU member states included their suggestions as to how the [national] economic law must be adapted to the demands of the EU integrated domestic market and a questionnaire comprising Poland's answers to thousands of specific questions about the economic situation, the legal system, and foreign policy. The Brussels Commission will use this to issue its opinion on our ability to become a EU member-state (at issue here is the so-called AVIS [expansion unknown], including thousands of pages of data collected by specific departments and the Office of the Government Plenipotentiary for European Integration.

But it is possible to be afraid that it will not be easy to adopt a national strategy for joining the EU—according to prevailing opinion, it is a strategic objective of Polish foreign policy—due to the ambiguous division of competence between the Office of the Government Plenipotentiary for European Integration and the Polish Foreign Ministry [MSZ]. Representatives of both these institutions agree that no relevant functions have been formally divided. Each of these institutions is aware of its obligation to draft this strategy. Will a sudden establishment of a European Integration Committee—which is very critical—not complicate the entire process?

Appearances and Facts

But when RZECZPOSPOLITA asked representatives of both the Office of the Government Plenipotentiary and the MSZ to comment on the fact that there is still no relevant national strategy, it received almost similar answers.

"It is not true that Poland has no strategy," government plenipotentiary Jacek Saryusz-Wolski told us. "Our objective—to become a member of all EU institutions—was specified a long time ago." He showed us the "Information About Basic Principles of Poland's Strategy for Joining the EU"—a document drafted for the Council of the EU (a body set up to assess the implementation of the Treaty on the EU), which met in Brussels on 17 July 1995.

"I regard the absence of such a strategy as the absence of a relevant document," said Stanislaw Stebelski, director of the MSZ Department for European Institutions. "Of course, there is still no document which would integrate all our activities pertaining to EU membership and which would also specify our position on conditions, routine procedures, and a schedule for the development of relations with the EU during three periods: before the negotiations, before the completion of the ratification process, and after Poland becomes a EU member-state. But there are documents which emphasize our

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generally known strategic choice and demonstrate our understanding of the integration process during specific periods. Back in 1990 we said that Poland wants to move toward EU membership through the EU Council. In fact, the EU Treaty does not include EU's acceptance of Poland's membership in this organization, but we have managed to insert a tenet in this treaty to the effect that EU membership is our country's objective."

The EU Treaty, according to Stebelski, did not serve Poland's objective to become a EU member-state, but Poland always regarded it as an agreement which specified conditions for our further integration with the EU and preparation for membership. In 1992, Poland (along with Hungary, Slovakia, and the Czech Republic) proposed a "memorandum on the strengthening of the process of integration with the EU and on their future membership." On 5 April 1994, our government applied for the EU membership, and several months later it submitted our expectations as to the acceleration of our integration with the EU to Bonn (which at the time chaired the EU activities). In 1995 Poland submitted its remarks regarding EU policy to its West European partners (the so-called pre-accession strategy). Minister Wladyslaw Bartoszewski's speech to the Sejm comprised an appeal to draft a full document regarding Poland's integration with the EU.

A Program Implemented Gradually

"A 'gradual' program for legal and economic adjustment has been implemented for three years already, that is, since the time when the EU Treaty was ratified," stressed Jacek Saryusz-Wolski. "Much is being done in both areas. Each legislative act proposed by the government was drafted from the view of its congruence to EU requirements. In the immediate future, each act of the Sejm will have to be drafted from the same view. The EU Treaty became, in fact, a program which brings us closer to EU membership. Sometimes I have the impression that it is rather the EU that has no strategy for the development of relations with Central Europe," said Jacek Saryusz-Wolski.

"Our strategy," the government plenipotentiary is convinced, "must depend on the schedule for EU expansion, which, as is known, is not yet available. We need dates for both the beginning of negotiations on EU membership and accession to the EU for both psychological and economic reasons. If we do not know these dates, how can we mobilize public energy to integrate with Europe, which must be a critical element of the national strategy? How can Polish companies outline their market strategy without this? Therefore, when I met with Western partners, I reminded them: you always scheduled dates for yourself which always were points of reference for you. For example, this happened when an integrated domestic market was introduced." (In 1985 the European communities agreed that a common market would be introduced at midnight on 31 December 1992.)

"We regard December 1995," said Jacek Saryusz-Wolski, "as the only date we can to stick to, because at the time we received something I call a 'decision on our hope': during the EU Madrid summit, the EU for the first time expressed hope that negotiations with us will begin simultaneously with those of Cyprus and Malta. Only recently it was possible to believe that we would occupy a place at the negotiating table at the turn of 1997. If the EU summit in Dublin in December 1996 makes it clear that the Intergovernmenal Conference will complete its work according to schedule (mid-1997) and that it will be possible to keep to the approximate schedule for the beginning of negotiations, it would have been easier for us to specify our integration schedule in detail," said Stebelski.

Our interlocutors reminded us that it is still unknown how the EU will look in a year or two; therefore, it is difficult to envisage now our strategy for becoming a EU member-state. Perhaps for the same reasons, both the Czech Republic and Hungary do not have their own national strategies.

Details at Any Price

According to Jacek Saryusz-Wolski, precisely due to the fact that the EU does not specify any dates for us, we are trying to specify our own schedule for becoming an EU member-state. Negotiations on membership must begin, we tell ourselves, relatively soon after the Intergovernmental Conference of "15" completes its work. These negotiations must not last longer than those with the European Free Trade Association [EFTA] member-states, that is, they could end asearly as 1998. The process of ratification by the EU national parliaments and by the European Parliament must not last longer than the one addressing the EFTA member-states, that is, it must end in 1999. Hence, Poland could joint the EU before the year 2000; in addition, it would be in our interests to become an EU member-state as soon as possible and to be granted lengthy timeframes to adjust specific Polish economic sectors [to the EU's requirements] immediately after Poland's accession to the EU.

"It is a myth that European communities granted exceptional transitional periods to the states with weak economies," said Stebelski. "It is a normally used practice, no matter whether it concerned Greece, Spain, or Portugal, or highly developed countries like those that had earlier belonged to EFTA."

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"Poland wants to participate in all three basic areas of EU activities as well as to share its policies," stressed our interlocutors. But at the beginning, it would be easier for Poland to begin to cooperate with the EU within its second (foreign and security policies) and third (domestic issues) areas. EU member-states have only recently organized this type of cooperation and it is in its initial stage. According to Saryusz-Wolski, Poland would like to be involved in economic cooperation (the first area), however, accession to the economic and currency union would only be possible in the distant future. In Saryusz-Wolski's opinion, Poland, on its path toward the EU, must be guided by Maastricht macroeconomic criteria and use them as its signpost. Generally speaking, Poland's economy must develop healthily and be modernized according to principles accepted in the West; in addition, its national product-producing structure must be similar to that in the West. According to Saryusz-Wolski, Poland wants to participate in cooperation in each economic sector, including the agricultural.

In the opinion of the MSZ representative, Poland "would largely object" to partial membership in the EU, even if 15 EU member-states adopt such a concept. "We do not want to be a second-rate EU member-state. We also have included this concept in our documents," reminded Stebelski. "We do not have an interest in half-measures."

Norwegian Path

Piotr Naimski, one of the leaders of the Movement for the Reconstruction of Poland [ROP], which is considered to be an opposition party, expressed the following in his interview to RZECZPOSPOLITA: "In our foreign policy, it is necessary to take care of guarantees for Polish interests. Therefore, our negotiators will have a hard time in Brussels. It is necessary to consider that the EU will put forward many suggestions—of quite a dubious nature—as regards the Polish economy, and many of them will be simply harmful. Tensions in our relations with the EU are seen already today. The EU, for example, demands that we limit our imports from the '15' states. It also suggests that we increase prices for electric energy to the average European level. The EU also protests the entry of Far Eastern capital into Poland. The number of disagreements will increase like an avalanche, while the time to begin the negotiations on our membership is coming closer."

In Naimski's opinion, from many viewpoints, it would have been much more beneficial for Poland if the EU had preserved its loose structure rather than becoming more closely integrated at the supranational level, because it would have been easier to cooperate within the EU framework, since not all decisions on currencies, markets, and a way to ensure domestic security or to outline foreign policy had been envisaged. Then we would be able to preserve our traditions, structures, and rules, and at the same time, we would be able to have an impact on the adoption of decisions from the inside. In this respect, the British or Danish viewpoint on EU development—rather than the French or German—is closer to us.

Negotiations on EU membership will last for a long time, and we hope that during this timeframe the Polish economy will acquire a great impulse in the form of security guarantees for our country after its accession to NATO. Leaving the grey security zone would ease the inflow of small- and medium-size investments into Poland. Direct membership in NATO structures would have made it possible for our country to use its advantageous position to expand to eastern markets, which are currently still mythical. It would also be easier for Poland—as the 17th, 18th, or 19th NATO member-state—to protect its interests in negotiations with the EU.

According to Naimski, conditions for accession to the EU cannot be worse that those negotiated by Portugal or the Netherlands. There is also a Norwegian path: yes to NATO membership, but not a definite yes to EU membership. As regards the difficult negotiations on EU membership, it is also worth looking for allies even today. These could be the countries that are afraid of far- reaching concepts to establish a federation. Public opinion in Poland could also become such an ally. The political and strategic benefits and the shortcomings of public economic integration with Brussels must be presented to the Poles in a clear-cut way. As regards legislative acts, it is necessary to avoid advancing arguments that the EU requires this or that. The EU rarely issues demands. More often, it issues suggestions. But already during negotiations with the Organization for European Cooperation and Development, the Polish Government behaved as an overzealous neophyte.

ROP representative Naimski stressed that Poland can obtain a place in the EU, but let us keep in mind that the EU is also anxious to see us as a member-state, and we do not have to be there at any price. But if we have to be in the EU, we must become a full-fledged member. However, we still do not know in which direction the EU will develop.

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Poland: Deputy Foreign Minister on NATO Membership

WS1907142296 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 16 Jul 96 pp 1,2

[Interview with Dr. Andrzej Towpik, undersecretary of state at the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, by Adam Stasinski; place and date not given: "NATO Enlargement Is Not an Aim in Itself"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Stasinski] [Deputy] Minister, President Kwasniewski's U.S. visit and the talks he held in Washington have rekindled interest in Poland's future membership in NATO. Are we any closer to the alliance today?

[Towpik] Definitely yes. I think the calendar of events in the last six months is the best proof of that. It began with the president's January visit to Brussels and ended with the "NATO visit" to Warsaw, namely the 13th Workshop. It is enough to say that NATO Secretary General Javier Solana visited us twice in the past six months. We have also been visited by other high-ranking representatives of the alliance. We have entered the so-called individual dialog with NATO on cooperation and the prospects of its enlargement. The first session was held on 7 May, the second—on 1 July.

Moreover, the "Polish Days" promoting our country held at the headquarters in Brussels and in Mons, where the top command is located, were a huge success. A large number of political and military projects were carried out within the frameworks of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council and the "Partnership for Peace" project, including meetings between foreign and defense ministers.

We are a part of IFOR. The interoperability of our Armed Forces is growing. All this means we are satisfied and optimistic. The important talks President Kwasniewski held in the United States also should be mentioned. It is significant that high public support for our joining NATO is not waning. The media continue to follow the issue with unvarying interest.

I want to stress that the discussion on NATO enlargement pertains not only to who and when. Naturally, we believe it should expand to admit new members, but—as I see it—this is not an aim in itself. The debate should agree with a tightening of cooperation between NATO and states which will remain beyond its structures. A strategic partnership of sorts should be established between NATO and Russia. Other forms of cooperation on our continent should be developed as well. The position of the OSCE and the treaty on conventional arms in Europe should be strengthened. The ongoing discussion on NATO and its enlargement is most of all a universal debate on the new architecture of European security. At the same time, we do claim that as it is building that structure, the alliance should consider the fact it would function far more effectively if it accepted new members.

[Stasinski] As we all know, Russia seems to have a different opinion on this issue. Do you think our neighbor might change his mind?

[Towpik] We have to wait. I think it is possible. In my view, Russia is vetoing not NATO itself, but its stereotypical Cold War structure. Contacts between Russia and NATO are being developed. Russia is present in the Partnership for Peace project, in the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, in the peacekeeping forces in Bosnia. It also cooperates with Western states. Russia sometimes expresses its fear of isolation. The truth is, however, that Russia has never had such good relations with the West in its entire history, and it in reality defines the scope of that cooperation. The elections are now over. Preelection rhetoric can now be replaced with a solid analysis of how to build the security of Europe and Russia and how to develop Russia's relations with NATO. Current and future contacts between the alliance and Russia should be the focus of attention for the Russian policy makers.

[Stasinski] Were the NATO Workshops we mentioned earlier truly—as many politicians claim—another step forward in our attempts at becoming a member of that organization?

[Towpik] I would rather say they confirmed the closeness of relations between Poland and the alliance. They showed how deeply those relations are changing and how big the changes taking place in Europe are. Naturally, they were significant for our future membership. They also had an undoubtable impact on the process of making the necessary formal decisions. Among the participants in the Workshops were decision makers and implementers.

[Stasinski] What were the major issues in the presentations and discussions?

[Towpik] The range of topics was very wide. The debate pertained mainly to the changing situation in Europe and the role of NATO, as well as basic aspects of European security at the turn of the 21st century. Two topics, however, dominated: international security in the Baltic region and in Central and East Europe. For us, Poles, this was particularly important. NATO enlargement was frequently raised. For a vast majority of participants, the decision on this issue is final. President Kwasniewski also said so in his speech. One of the problems that

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came up was how to guarantee security as the alliance expands and the final shape it should assume.

[Stasinski] You were one of the few Polish politicians in our delegation. At the same time, you represented your ministry. Did any problems or issues crop up that might influence the foreign policy of our country?

[Towpik] What was most interesting from our point of view was the convergence of our opinion on NATO and its enlargement with the opinions voiced by the major NATO members and their most eminent representatives. Our stance is based on a realistic assessment of the current situation and the role NATO has to play, as well as the chances of creating a new, stable system of European security together with Russia. Everybody now agrees that NATO is not directed against anyone. It is an effective political and military organization which introduces a high level of stability into European relations. It has effectively solved the problem of security in the western part of our continent via the military integration of its members. Today it is undertaking new missions and challenges. The establishment of the peacekeeping forces in Bosnia in cooperation with states which are not members of the Alliance, among them Russia, is the best proof of that.

[Stasinski] You took part not only in the debates, but also in the less formal meetings. How do you think Poland is viewed by our foreign partners?

[Towpik] The significance of the Workshops far exceeds the discussions that took place at the sessions. Two other aspects should be noted. The Warsaw Workshops grouped a very remarkable group of participants. Apart from President Kwasniewski, also present were Czech President Vaclav Havel, Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev, Estonian Prime Minister Vaehi, and over 20 foreign and defense ministers. This provided an opportunity to hold a large number of bilateral meetings and discussions between presidents, prime ministers and ministers. For the participants, this was also an opportunity to get to know Poland. Many of them visited our country for the first time. They could see our country and learn about Polish culture. For many, this was a "revelation" of sorts.

The image Poland projects abroad is not always positive. Even those who had visited our country earlier could see for themselves what huge changes have taken place over the past several years. One cannot fail to mention the excellent organization of this very complicated event, which provided not only for intense discussions, but also many cultural events and special programs for the wives of the participants. The main organizer was the Ministry of National Defense, and it did a superb job. I can only share the words of praise spoken by the participants.

[Stasinski] Thank you for the interview.

Poland: Papal Nuncio Voices Disquiet Over Concordat Delay

LD2107131996 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1133 GMT 21 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 21 Jul [PAP]—Today, on the third anniversary of Poland's signing of the agreement with the Vatican, the Papal Nuncio's Office in Poland issued a statement saying that it hoped that the issue of the Concordat ratification would be brought to completion with respect for the dignity and religious freedom of every person and for the principles of good international practice.

The Nuncio's office emphasizes that the Holy See distances itself clearly and firmly from any political games as this is not compatible with its nature and religious mission.

"The Holy See, by signing the Concordat—which in its last phase was negotiated on the basis of a document drafted by the Polish government—was guided by a sincere intention to establish the relations between the Polish state and the Catholic Church on the basis of autonomy, independence, and cooperation for the benefit of society as a whole, and not by a desire to obtain privileges. The signed agreement, therefore, contains all the necessary elements to form lasting and correct relations and fruitful cooperation," the statement by the Papal Nuncio's Office says.

The Nuncio's Office expresses regret that, after three years of discussion on the Concordat, it has not been possible to bring about its ratification despite various initiatives to clarify the difficulties arising. "This is a disturbing phenomenon, particularly if one takes into consideration the fact that, contrary to the intentions of the sides involved, the agreement itself and its principles are often being perceived as an object for political games and electoral declarations based on their erroneous interpretation," the statement reads. It also says that the "Holy See, in a clear and resolute fashion, distances itself from such attitudes."

The Papal Nuncio's Office in Poland expresses the hope that the issue of the ratification of the Concordat will be finalized. "In this way, in accordance with the original intention, it will contribute to a harmonious development of relations between the State and the Church in Poland," the statement says.

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Poland: PSL Role in Coalition, Convention Viewed

96EP0083B Poznan WPROST in Polish 30 Jun 96 No 26, p 17

[Interview with Janusz Piechocinski, PSL parliamentary club deputy leader, by Jerzy Slawomir Mac and Boguslaw Mazur; place and date not given: "The Force of the Buffer"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [WPROST] Leszek Miller, minister-chief of the Office of the Ministerial Council, has threatened that if the PSL [Polish Peasant Party] abandons the coalition, then it will forfeit 100 important positions in the government administration. Is this coalition worth 100 positions?

[Piechocinski] It is not at all definite that the PSL will abandon the coalition. But we have reason to suspect that the SLD [Democratic Left Alliance], or at least some within it, wants to provoke "dislodging" the PSL from the coalition in order to bring about early elections at a time that would, of course, be best for the SLD, that is, not in the spring of 1997 but as soon as this coming fall. The reasons for this haste are all too obvious. Within barely half a month the popularity of the SLD has declined by an additional 6 percent, while the discontent of that party's traditional electorate—government employees—has been rising. Recent demonstrations in Warsaw have certainly given much food for thought to SLD politicians.

[WPROST] Do you agree with the well-known claim of PSL leader Waldemar Pawlak that "there is a fly in Mr. Miller's soup"?

[Piechocinski] That was a riposte to certain suggestions of the deputy chairman of the SDRP [Social Democracy [Party] of the Republic of Poland]. Listening to Leszek Miller's comments on the PSL sometimes raises doubts as to whether he is speaking about a coalition partner or a coalition adversary. After such comments our local PSL activists telephone us, complain, and ask about the reasons for these cyclical conflicts at the top levels of both parties, conflicts that sometimes are real but much more often imaginary, because they are not "sparked" at the grassroots level. It is difficult not to notice that the SLD-PSL coalition is a rather specific "marriage of convenience," but both the PSL and the SLD electorate are not desirous of a "divorce."

[WPROST] Should the weekly NIE's attack on Jozef Zych, speaker of the Sejm and chairman of the PSL Supreme Council, be interpreted as one of the ploys for breaking up the coalition and calling early elections?

[Piechocinski] There is something to it. The media linked to the SLD—and TRYBUNA and NIE are reputed to be that—has been for some time now mercilessly attacking the politicians symbolizing the independence and future of the PSL. The article in NIE is not simply an isolated cynical happening. But being familiar with the attitude of my colleagues within the party, I think that this intrigue not only will not harm Speaker Zych but also will help him.

[WPROST] The style and basis of conflicts within the coalition warrant assuming that they often are pretended and in reality do not imperil the shared interests of the PSL and the SLD.

[Piechocinski] That is because the flow of information from the top down and from the grassroots up is dammed. What can a PSL member in, say, Pacyno say when he sees his party's chairman acting as a mediator at the Gdansk Shipyard, considering that neither the PSL Parliamentary Club nor the party's other leaders were aware of Pawlak's trip to Gdansk? Such is the style of Chairman Pawlak—no one, except his closest associates, has any idea about the identity of the people he talks with, the agreements he concludes (and which obligate the party), and so forth. Yet he is not the only party leader to act so independently, considering that Prime Minister Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz obviously surprised his colleagues from the SLD leadership when he declared his intent to reform the government. Such lack of coordination stems from various causes. For the PSL, as is known, "moving day" began before its November congress. Within the SLD, in its turn, after Aleksander Kwasniewski moved into the Presidential Palace, a struggle for influence began. Decisions are being taken by narrow elites, more and more closed meetings are being held, and so on. Is it then surprising that our members and sympathizers, being ignorant of the decisions of the "top," and being cut off from contacts with the party leaders, are prone to believe that everything is part of some game?

[WPROST] A game for calling early parliamentary elections as well?

[Piechocinski] We still have incomplete knowledge of the scenarios being drafted by other parties. We also are unaware of the real intentions of President Kwasniewski. Without a doubt, though, the key to the elections rests in the hands of the SLD. Our own party, the PSL, is certainly not keen about holding the elections this fall, and not just because of the preparations for its congress. We believe that the game for early elections is extremely risky to the governing coalition and we remind our partners that it is possible to win the elections and still lose the mission of forming the government. After all, the outcome is not certain. This year is decisive to whether PSL and SLD politicians will consider continuing their coalition. For the time being

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the situation is not particularly encouraging, even if the mood of the grassroots has not changed. Besides, Jozef Oleksy, chairman of the SDRP, has declared openly that his party will contend with the PSL for the rural electorate. Because the SDRP, Freedom Union, and the rightist parties all intend to recruit rural votes, the PSL should—if it desires to retain its influence on the Polish political scene—adapt its platform more boldly to make it more enticing and interesting to urban dwellers.

[WPROST] Speeches by PSL leaders increasingly contain hints that an agreement with the Movement for the Reconstruction of Poland (ROP) should be explored.

[Piechocinski] The ROP is still the great unknown. It is difficult to foresee whether its relatively high standing in public opinion polls will be reflected in the outcome of the elections. By the way, like the SLD, the ROP is in favor of early elections. Still, reflections on potential electoral configurations are as yet premature. I believe that each party should approach these elections with a clear-cut platform and identity. For its part, the PSL has already declared that it will campaign on its own while at the same time opening itself to certain constituencies, especially the local-government ones.

[WPROST] The PSL is ready—as its leaders often declare—to conclude electoral alliances with both the right and the left. Are you surprised by the opinions that the party that counts most to the PSL is the one that offers it the most?

[Piechocinski] That is not true. The PSL is not engaging in a game of playing the left against the right. The place of our party on the Polish political scene has been designated by our activists and voters, who dislike ideological extremes. In its concern for the might and stability of the state the PSL is to be a kind of "buffer" linking, and not polarizing, the left and the right. Poland needs a party building bridges for political dialogue. Such is, among other things, the worth of the PSL nowadays. Poles no longer desire the polarization that we experienced during the presidential elections; they do not want such collisions.

[WPROST] Because the PSL is so needed by Poles, why does it fear early elections?

[Piechocinski] Who told you that it fears them? We do not fear the elections, but what matters to us is that the construction of the system of government be completed, that a good constitution and a reform of social security be adopted. It also is highly important to us that the discussions of our party platform be ended so as to define more precisely the goals and methods of action of the PSL in the coming years.

[WPROST] Does this mean that the PSL is not prepared platform-wise to play its current role?

[Piechocinski] The fact is that the last serious and broad discussion of the PSL's platform was held five years ago, before the extraordinary congress at which Waldemar Pawlak was elected chairman, replacing Roman Bartoszcze. Since then, we have been guiding ourselves by so-called pragmatism, and there was no time for political or ideological debates, nor did the party leadership desire them. That is why nowadays we must listen more attentively to what our members and sympathizers say, how they appraise the "Pawlak era," and what their expectations are. After all, the countryside is undergoing enormous transformations, and it is rediscovering, as it were, its identity. The PSL is nowadays facing the huge challenge—perhaps the greatest in modern history—of carrying out fundamental reforms in the countryside and agriculture. Soon now the time will come when Poland joins the European Union; the farming population will begin to rapidly decline in numbers, and only large modern farms can then expect to thrive—what will we then have to say?

[WPROST] We noticed that you as the vice chairman of the PSL Parliamentary Club have often voiced views on this and other issues that differ from the views of Chairman Waldemar Pawlak.

[Piechocinski] On the one hand, we are partners, because we are linked by generational ties and a common tradition, but on the other, we differ in our views on many issues. I try to represent the voice of that PSL for which not only rural but also urban dwellers are of interest, that PSL that is aware that in the next few years major economic and social changes will affect our electorate, that PSL that is worried because a party like ours, whose leader is the youngest among leaders of political parties in Poland but is already rich in experience and accomplishments, is not attracting young people. And lastly I represent the voice of that PSL that does not want to be viewed as a party of mindless opportunists who are greedy for power.

[WPROST] Do you think that maintaining the stability of the position of Waldemar Pawlak is important to the SLD?

[Piechocinski] Of a certainty, dissent and squabbles within the PSL would make it a convenient partner to many political forces. But we are aware of this and we shall not let such a situation happen. I would warn anyone against counting on weakness of the PSL. Despite some differences or disputes, which we do not at all try to keep hidden from the public, our party still retains its strength. Its strength also drives from

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our heterogeneity and willingness for broader dialogue, which in the final analysis always favors the PSL.

[WPROST] Will you be a candidate in the election for PSL chairman?

[Piechocinski] It is too early to answer. For the time being, I travel across the country, take part in precongress voivodship conventions, listen, and myself ask questions to which, I believe, answers are being urgently awaited by the PSL.

Poland: Tribunal Passes Ruling on Pension Revaluation

WS1807110096 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 18 Jul 96 p 1

[Report by "SKI": "Give Money Back to the Pensioners"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The Constitutional Tribunal ruled yesterday that the refusal to revaluate old age and disability pensions for the fourth quarter of 1995 violated the Constitution.*

GAZETA WYBORCZA had informed readers that such would be the Tribunal's verdict on Friday [12 July], having obtained the information from unofficial sources.

Ghastly Quarter

The Tribunal ruled that revaluation has to be carried out each quarter. The revaluation carried out in December 1995 compensated for pensions for the third quarter of the previous year, whereas the new laws on revaluation apply to 1996. No interim regulations were passed, thus the fourth quarter was unaccounted for.

Moreover, according to the Tribunal, the failure to revaluate pensions caused the real value of old age and disability pensions to drop. That is why the lack of revaluation in the fourth quarter of last year violates the pensioners' rights to full-value old age and disability pensions. It also infringes the principle of social justice and undercuts the citizens' trust in the state.

Yesterday's verdict also applies to the revaluation of healthcare allowances and compensation for orphans for the fourth quarter of 1995.

The Tribunal ruled that only parliament can decide how often and by how much the pensions should be revaluated.

The Sejm Will Decide

The Sejm now has six months to either approve or reject the verdict.

Stanislaw Wisniewski (of the Union of Labor) who, speaking on behalf of 80 deputies from all the parliamentary clubs, explained the reasons why the motion submitted to the Tribunal is optimistic: "The entire opposition was against this law. I hope we will find supporters of the Tribunal's ruling among deputies of the Polish Peasant Party and the Democratic Left Alliance."

Apart from issuing a verdict, the Tribunal can also explicate the revaluation regulations. The civil rights spokesman has asked the Tribunal to do so. Unlike a verdict, the explication is final and is not voted on by the Sejm.

Where To Get the Money

The Tribunal stated that the lack of funds in the state budget cannot be a decisive argument for judging whether regulations violate the Constitution. It can at most decide when the verdict is implemented.

In February the government said that the revaluation for the fourth quarter would cost the state budget over 7.6 billion zlotys [Z] (and not Z760 billion as we had incorrectly reported earlier). Yesterday Deputy Labor Minister Leslaw Nowacki said that the actual sum would be Z18.3 billion: "We do not have that money. We cannot obey the ruling given the current budget. We have to wait until next year."

Unofficial sources claim the government is working on a solution to the problem.

[Directly below the above report, GAZETA WYBORCZA carries a 100-word untitled commentary by Natalia Skipietrow. "Perhaps," Skipietrow speculates, "the government will promise to give the pensioners privatization coupons, just like it did in exchange for cutting social security benefits in 1991 and 1992. They have not received them to this day." She adds: "Considering that parliamentary elections are to be held next year, perhaps the government will give the money after all? Not all of it, because experts claim the budget cannot afford it, but in one payment. If the pensioners were to receive the raise they did not receive in March together with interest, each would have to get on average Z150. The total cost to the budget would be some Z1.4 billion."]

Poland: Government Heeds Pension Ruling Without Sejm Vote

WS1907122896 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 19 Jul 96 p 1

[Report by Natalia Skipietrow: "Pensions; Compensation in Cash"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *At the beginning of August, the government is to declare how much money old age pensioners will receive by way of compensation for the revaluation to which they are entitled.*

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On Wednesday [17 July] the Constitutional Tribunal ruled that old age pensioners are entitled to a revaluation for the fourth quarter of 1995. Labor Minister Andrzej Baczkowski told reporters yesterday that the government will not wait for the Sejm to either approve or reject the Tribunal's verdict.

The Tribunal did not specify when and how the compensation is to be paid. Therefore, the Ministry of Labor is developing several versions of an amendment to the pension law. The government will choose one, and the pensioners will receive the money they are due in 1997. This year there is no money for this purpose.

The pensions will probably be revalued on the basis of this year's legislation, meaning that they will depend on the growth of prices. Compensation will be smaller than expected. "It is too early to say how high the compensation will be," said Baczkowski. "It will be paid out in cash, and not in the form of securities."

Poland: Restructuring of Military Education System Detailed

WS1907142696 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 15 Jul 96 p 3

[Report by Wlodzimierz Kaleta: "New Educational Structure"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The military education system is undergoing the same type of transformation as the entire Polish Armed Forces. A smaller army means less cadres—particularly less officers, because the model of the "staffing pyramid" provides that officers are to coordinate training carried out by career noncommissioned officers.*

In 1989 there were 16 military schools of higher education—five academies and 11 schools of higher learning for officers, as well as some 20 various other types of schools and training centers. They educated cadres for a 350,000-strong army with defensive and offensive structures.

Now that stress has been placed solely on defense, the reform of the military education system is being carried out at all levels for educating candidates to be career soldiers. Today we have four higher officers schools and four academies. Candidates for officer cadets—with secondary education only—will study for two years in schools with profiles suited to their previous education.

Apart from four-year engineering study courses held at higher schools for officers, three-year vocational courses are being offered. In addition, military academies will offer four-year university vocational courses for the first degree (for engineers) which will educate approximately 80 percent of students within the military educational system. This refers to courses at the Military Technical Academy and the Military Medical Academy.

[Box, p 3]

Structure of the Post-Reorganization Military Education System:

Four military academies:

—National Defense Academy;

—Military Technical Academy named after Jaroslaw Dabrowski in

Warsaw;

—Military Medical Academy named after Maj. Gen. B. Szarecki

in Lodz;

—Naval Academy named after the Westerplatte Heroes in Gdynia;

Four higher officers schools:

—Higher Officers School named after T. Kosciuszko in Wroclaw;

—Higher Officers School named after S. Czarniecki in Poznan;

—Higher Officers School named after Gen. J. Bem in Torun;

—Higher Air Force Officer School in Deblin;

Seven independent training centers:

—Signals Training Center in Legnica;

—Tank-Vehicle Training Center in Pila;

—Radioelectronic Training Center in Jelenia Gora;

—Air Defense Training Center in Koszalin;

—Ordnance and Electronics Training Center in Olsztyn;

—Air Force Technical Training Center in Olesnica;

—Navy Training Center in Ustka;

One military high school:

—Aviation High School in Deblin;

Two military colleges at the Higher Naval Schools:

—in Gdansk;

—in Szczecin.

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Poland: Overview of Polish Press Available on Internet

WS1907123396 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 12 Jul 96 p 4

[Report by Michal Jankowski: "Polish Newspapers on the Internet; Press on the Screen"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Internet enthusiasts look towards the future with optimism. They claim computer networks will revolutionize our everyday life. With the help of computer networks we will be able to shop, watch television programs and movies of our choice, and carry out banking operations without leaving our homes. We will no longer have to go to the kiosk to buy papers: Newspapers and news services will pop up on our screens. However, currently there are no newspapers available on the Internet that could replace their paper archetypes.

The majority of editorial offices publish only a portion of what is printed in the traditional hardcopy version on the Internet. The presentation is usually in textual form. The speed of linking up with the system and the parameters of home computers are still insufficient to send graphic messages expediently. Watching an Internet page with pictures and graphics requires a lot of patience. It takes some time before a picture appears on the screen. This does not in any way resemble browsing freely through a newspaper or magazine. One advantage of the Internet connections is the possibility to record all subscribers who are hooked up to the system. This allows one to establish the exact number of readers of the electronic version of the publication. Sharing this data with other users has become a custom on the Internet. Many Internet pages greet users with statements like: "You are our 111,278th guest."

Without Pictures or Ads

A number of Polish newspapers have their own Internet pages. They are usually prepared by the computer sections of the editorial offices. Only two dailies have full electronic versions at present: ZYCIE WARSZAWY and SLOWO—DZIENNIK KATOLICKI.

ZYCIE WARSZAWY has appeared on the Internet since last May. It publishes all the texts that appear in hardcopy on the very same day, but without photographs, advertisements, or special supplements. The Internet version of ZYCIE WARSZAWY is partly prepared automatically, under the supervision of the editor on duty. After midnight, when the hardcopy version goes to print, it is already available on the Internet. Thanks to the time difference, someone living in the United States can read "tomorrow's" paper.

"Statistical data on connections with our server indicate there are an approximately 15,000 users," says Robert Kostecki, from the computer section of ZYCIE WARSZAWY. The majority hook up from abroad, predominantly from the United States and Canada. Thus, ZYCIE WARSZAWY on the Internet is mainly read by the Polonia. Advertisements and special supplements appearing in the traditional version are to be included in the future. But the plans are uncertain: The computers through which the softcopy version of ZYCIE WARSZAWY is accessed are in Italy. They remain the property of the former owner of the paper.

The Catholic daily SLOWO also has its electronic edition. It appeared on the Internet at the initiative of Michal Politanski, who is the computer network administrator at the SLOWO editorial office: "By having an Internet version, we are not competing with ourselves. Because hooking up to the system takes so long, many people choose to browse through the actual paper than waste time waiting in front of the screen."

Politanski claims there are several reasons why it was worth having made the daily available on the Internet. "First, it is a form of advertising—we show that we exist and can be read. Moreover, we can reach people who do not have access to the traditional version, mainly the U.S. Polonia. I think many people within that group have rather conservative views and would be interested in a Catholic daily."

Once wide access to the network is commonplace, just like to radio and television, new methods of communicating with readers will be possible.

"The system gives the possibility of exchanging quick replies and comments. Today not many people use this option because it is too bothersome: You have to write a letter, put it in an envelope, and go to the post office," says Michal Politanski.

Dailies Under Passwords

The Internet images of GAZETA WYBORCZA and SUPER EXPRESS are entirely different. The Internet pages of both dailies are guides to the real papers. They give information about the specific rubrics, special supplements, numbers of printed copies, readership, and advertisement prices. In addtion, GAZETA WYBORCZA indicates selected sites on the Internet. Under a rubric called "Write to Us," SUPER EXPRESS publishes e-mail addresses for the particular divisions of the editorial office. In the future, the Internet edition of SUPER EXPRESS is to be a fully interactive, electronic version of the daily. Apart from texts, it will also carry photographs and graphics. However, access would be only for subscribers: Having paid their subscription fee,

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users would receive their personal passwords to access the paper (both current and former issues).

Computer Navigation

The news service compiled by the Warsaw-based Radio Eska for the Polska Online server takes advantage of Internet features unavailable to the hardcopy dailies. Apart from current news, it carries press reviews and archive materials. Information is edited in the hypertext format. This means that some names and concepts are cross-referenced to sites where more information on a given topic can be found. It is enough to click a mouse on the highlighted name of, for example, a politician for a "who's who" directory to pop up on the screen with a bio note on the individual one is interested in.

Virtual Rubric

Polish weeklies and monthlies are also accessible on the Internet. TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC, GAZETA BANKOWA, NIE and CASH carry highlights and selections of their most interesting texts. They also offer access to selected texts from past issues. Internet editions of computer monthlies (ENTER, PC MAGAZINE, TOP SECRET) have the most advanced graphics. Texts are illustrated by photographs and drawings. Texts from previous issues can be accessed by clicking a mouse on an icon of the cover. The only magazine on the Internet which shows something that a traditional paper is incapable of offering is MOTOR. Apart from a selection of texts from the current issues (complete with photographs), it provides access to a database of stolen cars. Moreover, users can visit a "virtual car dealer." One selects the car model one wishes by clicking its name with a mouse on an alphabetical menu. A picture of the car pops up along with a table containing detailed technical parameters.

The Internet gives the press possibilities which traditional versions cannot offer. They can be taken advantage of fully only when access to the system becomes widespread and data transmission is faster. This will take time in Poland. Newspaper and magazine publishers do not yet have reason to feel endangered.

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Romania: Melescanu Says U.S. Senate Vote 'Expected' Development

AU2007170396 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1600 GMT 20 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] After the U.S. Senate decided last night to grant Romania most favored nation [MFN] status, Teodor Melescanu, Romanian minister of foreign affairs, told our ratio station that the result of this vote was a surprise expected by all of us. He backed his statement by pointing to the majority with which the House of Representatives had previously voted on the issue, something which indicated that there would be no problems, other than procedural ones, in the Senate. Moreover, the entire package of laws, including the one referring to Romania, was examined very speedily. The next stage for this initiative to become law is that it be promulgated by the U.S. President Bill Clinton within eight days.

Regarding the Washington talks on our country's admission to NATO, the foreign minister said that he was able to note that our country is one of the most serious candidates for the NATO expansion and that we should take maximum advantage of this favorable moment.

Romania: PDSR Hails U.S. Senate MFN Vote With 'Particular Joy'

AU2007170596 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1600 GMT 20 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The Social Democracy Party of Romania [PDSR] hails with particular joy and satisfaction the decision of the U.S. Senate, according to a fax signed by Adrian Nastase, executive president of this political grouping. The fax points out that the vote on granting the most favored nation [MFN] status to Romania is an expected and encouraging political signal, which recognizes the changes produced in the Romanian society and the fact that the direction of the country's economic, political, institutional, social development is in accordance with the values and trends of the moderns societies. In the PDSR's opinion, the essential thing right now is for all the political forces to correctly interpret the message received by Romania and to act accordingly, as they also have done so far for obtaining the MFN clause or for promoting our NATO integration. The communique emphasizes that the PDSR will further participate in the promotion of an economic, legislative, and financial policy, in keeping with the opportunities opened by the granting of the MFN status on a permanent basis.

Romania: Iliescu Advocates NATO Entry With Hungary

AU1907143196 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 19 Jul 96 p 6

[Interview with Romanian President Ion Iliescu by Andreas Unterberger; place and date not given: "Hungary's Only Policy Was Assimilation"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Unterberger] According to all available information, Romania will not be among the countries that will be the first to be admitted to NATO. Are you disappointed at that?

[Iliescu] It is not helpful to tackle NATO's enlargement with a discriminating attitude. All of us in central Europe are interested in it for the sake of our own security and security in general. All of us cooperate with equal rights with NATO in the Partnership for Peace. Thus, it does not make sense to ask who will be the first, second, or third.

This creates a climate of competition, distrust, and instability between the countries. On the contrary, however, we have to create a climate of good-neighborly relations, cooperation, and solidarity. Now we must negotiate and calculate the costs—both for NATO and the countries willing to join it.

[Unterberger] However, if Hungary were to be in the first group, as indicated by many reports from the United States, would that be a shock for Romania?

[Iliescu] It would be a completely wrong political decision. And we hope that responsible U.S. politicians understand that, because this is not the official attitude of the U.S. President. These are other politicians and journalists. Independently of the course of the negotiations, I believe that Hungary and Romania will either become members jointly or they will not become members. [passage omitted]

Romania: Iliescu Rejects Budapest's Wish To Manage Ethnic Bodies

LD1907191696 Budapest Duna TV in Hungarian 1600 GMT 19 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] At an impromptu press briefing, Romanian President Ion Iliescu has again sharply criticized those political circles in Hungary, which, he said, wanted to create enclaves within states by supporting ethnicity-based territorial autonomy.

[Correspondent Tibor Bogdan] He also condemned the demand of certain Hungarian Government organizations to manage the representative bodies of the Hungarian minorities of other countries. Nor did he omit to

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list among his accusations the charge of assimilation as a result of which the 250,000 ethnic Romanians in Hungary had been virtually assimilated and the proportion of minorities in Hungary had fallen from 27 percent to two percent.

Iliescu's spokesman, Traian Chebeleu, topped all this by saying that the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania had recently been defining autonomy as the guardian of the survival of the Hungarian minority, whereas the truth was that it had been well able to maintain its identity without it. In fact, in terms of its absolute size, the Hungarian minority has even grown in numbers since Trianon, Chebeleu said.

Romania: Authorities Disagree With Plans for Hungarian Meeting

LD2007214896 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2000 GMT 20 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] A conflict has developed over the Third World Meeting of Hungarians, which is planned to be held in Transylvania. Tibor Bogdan reports.

[Bogdan] In a statement signed by State Secretary Ilie Fonta, the Romanian State Secretariat for Religious Affairs announced this afternoon that the secretariat still does not agree that the venue of the event should be Romania. According to him, in the year of the Romanian elections and the 1100th anniversary of the Hungarian occupation of the Carpathian Basin the meeting will stir up political emotions in Romania. According to the state secretariat, this event will have political rather than religious motives. The fact that the organizers speak of [word indistinct] and Transylvania shows that in these historical regions the existence of the Romanian state is not recognized.

We cannot agree to the staging of an event, the organizers of which speak of the Trianon peace treaty as a dictate and call the real dictate supported by Hitler and Mussolini a decision, says the statement referring to the Vienna decision. The state secretariat warns that if the organizers stick to their plans, they will have to accept the legal consequences for violating the Romanian legal order.

At the same time, the Reformed Church District of Bucea informed the Hungarian radio correspondent this evening that the County Biharia prefect has only given a verbal indication of banning the event, which is planned to be held as part of the World Meeting of Hungarians in the stadium of Oradea, and there is no official written confirmation of this.

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Slovenia: Kacin on NATO Membership Bid, Support From Spain

AU1907161096 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 19 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] This morning Slovene Defense Minister Jelko Kacin and State Secretary Gorazd Vidrih talked about the Defense Ministry's international activities, primarily in the light of our rapprochement with NATO. Here Minister Kacin said that regulated relations with our neighbors are an important precondition for entry into NATO. We have, thus, recently signed an agreement on aviation and air defense with Hungary. Our relations with Austria are regulated, and the agreements with Italy are also in preparation. Defense Minister Jelko Kacin also assessed his recent visit to Portugal and Spain and, among other things, said the following about his talks in Madrid:

[Begin recording] These are two NATO pact members out of the 16 that will decide on who will be invited to join NATO pact in the near future. We started with Spain because Spain was the last new NATO alliance member. It joined NATO in 1982 and since then has strengthened its presence in the alliance. It is precisely through cooperation in NATO that the democratization of the Spanish Army was carried out. For that reason we held very precious talks with Spanish Defense Minister Serra, who previously chaired the Spanish parliamentary defense committee. He explicitly emphasized that Spain actively supports the inclusion of the Republic of Slovenia in the NATO alliance in the first circle. We continued our talks with General (Suanzes), who is in charge of the structural harmonization of the Spanish Army with the NATO requirements. This exchange was extremely valuable to us. [end recording]

Slovenia: Parliament Appoints Karcun as Foreign Minister

AU1907155696 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 19 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] With 33 votes in favor and 30 against, State Chamber deputies this morning appointed a new foreign minister. Zoran Thaler has been replaced by Dr. Davorin Kracun, who was nominated by the prime minister. The new minister will assume his duties on Monday [22 July]. [passage omitted]

Slovenia: Political Parties Favor Elections in Mid-Nov

AU1807154596 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1300 GMT 18 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] President Milan Kucan today completed talks with the presidents of the parliamentary parties on the most appropriate date for the parliamentary elections. President Kucan opted for the consultations because, pursuant to the Constitution and the Law on Elections, the elections can be called on 8 August at the earliest and on 9 October at the latest. The elections themselves can take place on 27 October at the earliest and 8 December at the latest.

The presidents of all parliamentary parties, with the exception of the Social Democrats, responded to the invitation for talks. The talks were also important because they allow the parties to plan their preelectoral activities. Sandi Frelih interviewed President Milan Kucan about the parties' views and the possibilities for a change to the electoral legislation.

[Begin recording] [Kucan] We concluded that there was a consensus on a concrete date for the elections in mid-November. Dr. Drnovsek, prime minister and Liberal Democracy president, proposes the earliest possible date, namely, 27 October, with a rational justification that such early elections would facilitate a timely constitution of the parliament, the appointment of the government, and allow the government relatively enough time to prepare the budget for the coming year, which, of course, is the fundamental act determining the policy for the current year.

[Frelih] Because 8 October is the last date for the possible change of the electoral legislation, while the elections themselves must take place by 8 December at the latest, is there enough time to call the elections pursuant to the new rules?

[Kucan] If we were to apply the new electoral system in the coming elections—bearing in mind that the elections must take place by 8 December at the latest—then, in light of all the deadlines and a possible veto, that is, a reaction by the State Council, the law on the electoral system would have to be passed before the end of September.

[Frelih] Would there be enough time to hold the elections by the new rules in such a case?

[Kucan] In such a case it would, formally speaking, still be possible to call the elections within the legally, that is, constitutionally prescribed deadline. As I said, this is the question of political sensibility and primarily responsibility toward the voters.

[Frelih] The date of the calling of the elections also depends on the State Chamber ruling regarding the organization of the [three] electoral referendums and possible changes to the electoral legislation. That is why President Milan Kucan will consult the party presidents again before making the final decision. [end recording]

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Slovenia: Ex-JNA Officer Awaits Outcome of Treason Charges

AU1807160996 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 18 Jul 96

[Report by Natasa Lang—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Lang] Retired Yugoslav Army [JNA] General Milan Aksentijevic, while on a visit to his family, together with his lawyer responded to the summons of the Ljubljana district investigation judge at 0900 this morning. Aksentijevic told us the following about the 15-minute questioning:

[Aksentijevic] The procedure has been initiated. I visited the investigation judge. He decided to continue the matter further. Therefore, the process is underway. Finally it sorted itself out.

[Lang] He also emphasized that he now officially knows the charges against him—collaboration with the enemy army during the war in Slovenia. What does he think about the charges?

[Aksentijevic] My opinion is not really relevant. What matters is what those who are persecuting me believe. If everything goes according to the law, then I hope that there will be no problems.

[Lang] Asked whether an indictment will be brought against him, Aksentijevic told us that this depends on the investigation judge and that he does not know anything about it. As for the rumors about his request for the extension of his stay in Slovenia, Aksentijevic said:

[Aksentijevic] I requested the extension, actually, that I be issued a document for the temporary residence with the family. This process is underway and for as long as it lasts I will remain in Slovenia.

[Lang] When asked specifically whether this means that he cannot leave Slovenia, he said:

[Aksentijevic] They did not say that I cannot. They took my document, my passport, and told me to wait until the process is completed—until they finish what they have to do.

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Federal

FRY: Milutinovic, Luxembourg's Poos Hold 'Satisfactory' Talks

AU2207141596 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 22 Jul 96

[Report by Dusan Vojnovic on statements by Jacques Poos, deputy prime minister and foreign minister of Luxembourg, and Milan Milutinovic, foreign minister of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, in Belgrade on 22 July—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Vojnovic] Following talks with Luxembourg Foreign Minister Jacques Poos, FRY Foreign Minister Milan Milutinovic said:

[Milutinovic] We had satisfactory talks with Minister Poos. The talks primarily focused on bilateral relations, but a significant part nevertheless pertained to relations between the FRY and the EU since Luxembourg is a significant and highly influential member of the community. A significant part of the talks focused on the crisis in Yugoslavia, the current situation in Bosnia, and everything else that we are doing to ensure peace comes to the area.

[Vojnovic] Here is what Minister Jacques Poos said about the talks:

[Poos, in English with superimposed translation into Serbo-Croatian] I visited the area five years ago as a member of an EU delegation. The circumstances were quite different at the time. We tried to stop the war from breaking out, and now we are discussing the implementation of the peace agreement, which was signed thanks to the Serbian president's extremely important role. We have asked our friends here to adhere to the obligations they committed themselves to and to continue exerting positive influence on all sides, particularly the Serb Republic, to implement the Dayton agreement to the letter. Much has been accomplished, but a long journey still awaits us. The international community will have to invest a lot of effort to rebuild the country and create prerequisites for a true reconciliation. The war is over, but not in the hearts of all the people there. Everyone needs to invest a lot of effort and time, particularly the neighboring countries.

FRY: Slovenia Reported Willing To Normalize Relations

LD2107200596 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1930 GMT 21 Jul 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgade, July 21 (TANJUG)—Leader of the New Democracy Party Dusan Mihajlovic said here Sunday that there was a general readiness in Slovenia to normalise relations with Yugoslavia in new conditions and on a footing of equality.

The New Democracy is a coalition partner of Serbia's Socialist Party in the republican government.

Mihajlovic said on returning from his several-day visit to Slovenia, that the need for speeding up the drafting of agreements on opening diplomatic offices, including consulates, in Belgrade and Ljubljana had been stressed in a talk with President Milan Kucan.

Mihajlovic said it had been also stressed that Slovenia's position had always been that conditions for Yugoslavia's membership in European institutions should be the same as for other states emerging from the former Yugoslavia and that no additional conditions should be set to Belgrade.

Commenting on meetings with Slovene businessmen and officials of the Slovene chamber of commerce, Mihajlovic said a great interest had been manifested in the renewal of economic cooperation with Yugoslavia.

Accordingly, it is vital to immediately normalise inter-state relations and regulate economic cooperation by inter-state agreements, he said.

This is the first visit by a Yugoslav politician following Slovenia's secession from the former Yugoslav federation in the summer of 1991.

FRY: Muslim Ganic Sees Visit as 'Acceptance of Reality'

LD1907180096 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1554 GMT 19 Jul 96

[Commentary by Nenad Tadic]

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 19 Jul (SRNA)—Ejup Ganic, the vice president of the Muslim-Croat federation, who is also a member of the so-called presidency of "the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina" or, in other words, of the Muslim leadership in Sarajevo, will soon visit Belgrade and hold talks with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic. According to U.S. diplomat Richard Holbrooke, the meeting will take place at the Serbian president's initiative. In his first reaction Ganic said that the invitation amounted to "the acceptance of reality" by official Belgrade. He announced talks on economic issues and an agreement on "opening roads between the two countries."

Of course, no one disputes Serbia's right to establish political and economic ties with the Muslim-Croat federation or the areas controlled by the Muslim government in the federation. In the same vein, the choice of representative is up to the country with which business

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of a political or economic nature is planned. However, judging by Ganic's comments, the most controversial part of the announced meeting is the political identity of the man representing the Sarajevo authorities. Who will Ganic represent at the Belgrade talks, on whose behalf will he speak or, possibly, reach either economic or political agreements?

If Ganic is going as the federation's vice president, his legitimacy is, from the political point of view, beyond dispute. The question could be raised (out of journalistic curiosity) of why the federation's president, Kresimir Zubak, was passed over, but that decision is, after all, up to the federation's authorities.

If Ganic was invited as a member of the Muslim presidency, i.e. the so-called Presidency "of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina," the entire visit would take on a somewhat different political meaning both for the Bosnian Serb Republic [RS] and the Croats, Muslims' federal partners. Since the Dayton agreement, as Holbrooke warned yesterday, envisages two entities—the Serb Republic and the federation, which will establish their joint institutions after the September elections—the Belgrade talks could really confirm Ganic's interpretation that the Serbian president "accepts the reality," or rather, accepts until further notice the legitimacy of wartime political institutions set up by Alija Izetbegovic.

In this case the peace agreement is being bypassed and the Serb Republic brought in a situation, for the umpteenth time, to have the Sarajevo authorities negotiate on its behalf, taking on the responsibilities that legally, politically, and effectively they cannot meet. In any case, the same view is shared by the Croats who only recognize the federal bodies, established on the basis of the Washington agreement and not the prewar and war "presidencies" of the so-called Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Apart from the existence of Herzeg-Bosnia, this is the basic problem arising from the political and every other kind of impotence of this "American baby."

What will trade delegations agree on and what is this agreement on roads "between two states" (which Ganic hinted at) when it is known that Izetbegovic's government as well as the federal can reach the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (most quickly) via the RS? Every "road to the world" in Ganic's country (whatever that means) and every road belonging to its citizens (the current ones and those who will be its citizens after the elections) will have to take into account the RS's interests—starting from the question of road taxes and other issues. Hence, Ganic or some other representative of either a "maxi" or "mini" federation will have to visit the RS and reach relevant agreements with its representatives before visiting more distant foreign countries.

Otherwise, federal economists will have to use the Adriatic Sea or some other road running through its future confederal partner Croatia with, of course, its approval so that they can either trade with and sell or travel to Yugoslavia and further afield. Let us recall, the equal status of the RS and the Bosnian federation is guaranteed by the Dayton peace agreement and his means that the interests of both sides must be taken into account.

A significant—if not political then moral—aspect of Ganic's announced visit to Belgrade is the role of this Muslim diplomat in the war, especially with a view to the fact that a real media campaign against Serb politicians and not just the RS leadership was launched precisely by federal cabinets.

Numerous associations of Serb victims of the war have publicly accused Ganic of war crimes. Let us remember May 1992 and the massacre of members of the then JNA [Yugoslav People's Army], most of them Yugoslav citizens, in Dobrovoljacka ulica [in Sarajevo]. At the time, at Izetbegovic's request Ganic had a temporary command of the Muslim "territorial defense" and gave guarantees for the military column's safe departure from the city. After touring the scene of the crime, Marrack Goulding, the then envoy of the UN secretary general, said that what he had seen was "disgusting." According to witness accounts by former JNA officers and soldiers, Ganic also commanded the attacks on the military hospital in Sarajevo that "the green berets" had held under siege.

Of course, the FRY Government as well as the republic governments [of Serbia and Montenegro] are in the best position to explain and assess the reasons and aspects of the invitation to Ganic to visit Belgrade. However two points are clear.

He cannot negotiate on behalf of the Serb Republic or sign anything that would be binding for the Serb Republic government. The fact that the federation's President Kresimir Zubak has already been to Pale, while Ganic is using air corridors controlled by the Implementation Force, speaks volumes about this diplomat's readiness to "accept reality" himself and shows that war crimes are not forgotten in the minds of those who committed them either.

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FRY: New Democracy Welcomes Karadzic's Resignation

LD1907162196 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1308 GMT 19 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 19 Jul (TANJUG)—New Democracy (ND) welcomes Bosnian Serb ex-President Radovan Karadzic's final and irrevocable resignation from all political and state offices, bearing in mind that this move has averted the danger of new sanctions being imposed on the Bosnian Serb Republic and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY], the party said in a statement issued today.

The ND believes that this move will greatly contribute to the stabilization of the situation in the region and above all to the smooth running of the elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Bosnian Serb Republic, which means that "all relevant political factors can conduct normal election campaigns."

"New Democracy expects that following this move one-sided pressure on the Serb side by the international community will end and that once the elections in Bosnia-Herzegovina are completed the sanctions will be lifted," the statement says, and adds that this will create conditions for the FRY to join the international community unhindered. [New Democracy is an unofficial Serbian government partner.]

FRY: 'Major Changes' To Occur in Army Leadership

AU1907163196 Belgrade NEDELJNI TELEGRAF in Serbo-Croatian 10 Jul 96 p 4

[Unattributed report: "General Perisic Will Soon Be Discharged, Generals Velickovic and Ojdanic Mentioned as Possible Successors"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Major changes will occur in the Yugoslav Army leadership in the early autumn. According to reliable sources, preparations are under way to discharge General Momcilo Perisic, chief of staff of the Yugoslav Army, in the first of a series of steps that will dismiss all commanding officers with combat experience. As our source confirms, following Dayton there will also be a military minisummit whose victim will be Perisic. There are rumors that his dissent dates back to the fall of Krajina, and that a resignation he submitted at the time was accompanied by President Milosevic's alleged comment that he should also return the promotions he had earned in those two years. In military circles Perisic is considered to be a very modest man.

One of the most serious candidates mentioned for this top position is General Ljubisa Velickovic, commander of the Air Force and Air Defense, who is not encumbered by the war because at the beginning and end of the war he was the director of the Federal Flight Control, in which position he was promoted to the rank of general, although according to our source he had prevented the present director from being promoted to the rank of general on the grounds that the position was not suited to the rank. His advantage, besides being from Pozarevac [President Milosevic's hometown], is said to be his total allegiance to the political leadership and his ability to control defiant air force pilots who do not like him very much.

The second candidate, according to our source, is General Dragoljub Ojdanic, commander of the 1st Army and former commander of the "Drina" tactics group and the Uzice Corps. Although he did take part in the war operations in Bosnia, it is generally known that Ojdanic has very close relations with the MUP [Ministry of Internal Affairs] of Serbia, in the first place with Radovan Stojicic Badza, deputy to Minister Zoran Sokolovic. Incidentally, army circles claim that the MUP to a great extent conducts the personnel policy of the Yugoslav Army and has a decisive influence on the selection of its commanding officers.

FRY: Defense Minister Says Army Guarantor of Security

LD2007135096 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1339 GMT 20 Jul 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Iriski Venac, Yugoslavia, July 20 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Defence Minister Pavle Bulatovic said Saturday that the strong Yugoslav Army with well-trained officers and troops was a guarantor of security and was by no means a threat to peace.

Addressing the 39th class of students who have just graduated from the Yugoslav Army National Defence School, Bulatovic said, 'Being strong, it is a deterrent to aggression. The fact that it has no territorial claims makes it exclusively defensive in nature.'

'The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia observes all conventions and agreements on arms control, giving its contribution to strengthening peace in the Balkans as well as Europe,' he said.

Peace and stability have been preserved in Yugoslavia despite the war in its immediate neighbourhood, he said. In bringing this about, the Yugoslav Army has played a vital role, he said.

The strong Yugoslav Army and professional officers' high morale are a crucial deterrent to military threats to Yugoslavia, he said.

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Yugoslav President Zoran Lilic, attending the Atlanta Olympic games, has sent a letter of felicitations to the class on the occasion of their graduation from the school.

Serbia

Serbia: Daily Says Arrest Warrant for Bosnia's Ganic Exists

LD2007115496 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1052 GMT 20 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 20 Jul (SRNA)—Ejup Ganic, vice president of the Muslim-Croat federation, who is due to visit Belgrade next week, could be arrested as soon as he sets foot on the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, according to today's POLITIKA EKSPRES.

According to this paper, the investigative judge of the Military Court in Belgrade adopted a decision on 21 July 1994 on carrying out war crimes investigations against Ganic, who is held responsible for the massacre of soldiers of the Yugoslav People's Army in Sarajevo at the beginning of May 1992.

The Military Court confirmed to the EKSPRES that the arrest warrant issued at the time was still in force.

An executive order for the arrest of Ganic exists which the internal affairs organs should observe in these circumstances.

Serbia: Hague Prosecutor on Milosevic, Karadzic, Mladic

AU1907194596 Belgrade NEDELJNI TELEGRAF in Serbo-Croatian 17 Jul 96 p 4

[Interview with Graham Blewitt, deputy prosecutor of the International War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague, by Dragana Subarevic; place and date not given: "Anything is Possible, Even Milosevic's Extradition to The Hague"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The international press has recently been reporting intensely on the possibility of Slobodan Milosevic appearing in The Hague either as a witness or an indicted war criminal. True, commentators believe that such forecasts are premature and that, in fact, this is just pressure on the Serbian president to fulfill the promise he made in Dayton to extradite Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic. Prompted by this, a NEDELJNI TELEGRAF correspondent spoke to Graham Blewitt, deputy prosecutor of the International War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague.

[Subarevic] You stated recently that you expect Radovan Karadzic and Ratko Mladic to be arrested soon. Do you think it is possible to do this before the elections in Bosnia?

[Blewitt] First, I do not know how I was cited by your press. It is difficult to answer such a direct question. Now, when Regulation 61 is in force and when international arrest warrants have been issued, each UN member country is obliged to arrest indicted war criminals. Now, the possibility of Karadzic and Mladic being arrested as soon as they cross the border of the Serb Republic is far greater. I said that I hope that, after last week's hearings in The Hague, states that have the possibility, but also the Implementation Force [IFOR], should be encouraged to take steps to arrest indicted war criminals. We would like IFOR's mandate to be modified as soon as possible, perhaps even before the elections, so that all indicted war criminals, not only Karadzic and Mladic, are arrested. [passage omitted]

[Subarevic] Who do you believe is responsible for arresting Karadzic and Mladic? Is it perhaps President Milosevic, whom IFOR troops in Bosnia are increasingly pointing to?

[Blewitt] The primary responsibility lies with the states, that is, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and President Milosevic. In Dayton, he committed himself to cooperation with The Hague tribunal on behalf of the Serb Republic, which may be peculiar, but he still needs to fulfill his promise.

[Subarevic] Is it true that, according to an agreement, Milosevic was supposed to extradite Radovan Karadzic by 4 July, and is the pressure currently being applied on him now by the international community and The Hague a consequence of the broken promise?

[Blewitt] I have no knowledge of this.

[Subarevic] Is there a chance of Milosevic being called to The Hague as a witness, or perhaps even as a defendant, together with Tudjman and Izetbegovic?

[Blewitt] Anything is possible.

[Subarevic] Is this why President Milosevic's name keeps coming up in reports from The Hague?

[Blewitt] The International War Crimes Tribunal is not mentioning Milosevic at all.

[Subarevic] In the decision passed by the preliminary hearing council, which Judge Claude Jorda read out before the Tribunal on Thursday, 11 Jul, Milosevic is mentioned—in a negative context—three times. He is also blamed for not arresting the indicted persons when they were in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

[Blewitt] I will have to check in what context Judge Jorda mentioned Milosevic. His name might have been

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mentioned within the context of Dayton and the obligation to arrest indicted war criminals, but generally speaking, as far as indictments are concerned, particularly here in the office of the supreme judge, Milosevic is still not "on the agenda."

[Subarevic] Was the initial statement for the public following the announcement of the preliminary hearing council's decision immediately withdrawn and modified, since pointing a finger at Milosevic was deemed to be "premature"?

[Blewitt] A statement for the public is an issue for the Press Department. I have not seen it, and I do not know what they were doing. It must reflect the Tribunal's official stance, and it is inappropriate for me to comment on such statements.

[Subarevic] Has the noose been tightening around President Milosevic as an introduction to his future extradition to The Hague, or simply as another in a series of pressures to extradite Karadzic and Mladic?

[Blewitt] This is a question that calls for drawing conclusions, and I believe that, as far as this is concerned, you and I are equally competent to do so. I do not wish to make any specific comments.

[Subarevic] Was the recent French initiative advocated by the French defense minister during his visit to Bosnia, namely, that the UN Security Council should review the methods of arresting war criminals, launched independently or at The Hague's insistence?

[Blewitt] The first I ever heard of this was on the radio today (Monday 15 July), and I was surprised. The Hague certainly did not ask them to make such statements, and they are certainly not making them on The Hague's behalf.

[Subarevic] Is it true that Foreign Legion members are ready to launch an operation to arrest Karadzic and Mladic and that they are simply awaiting IFOR's approval?

[Blewitt] There can be no question of such a thing.

Serbia: DS Spokesman Calls Karadzic Withdrawal 'Sacrifice'

LD1907200096 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1138 GMT 19 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 19 Jul (TANJUG)—Democratic Party [DS] Spokesman Slobodan Vuksanovic said today that Radovan Karadzic's withdrawal from the position of chairman of the Serb Democratic Party showed once again that he was capable of sacrificing himself in the interest of his people.

"It is clear that the international community's pressure was aimed directly at Radovan Karadzic, and that he responded to the pressure by a personal sacrifice in order to help his people and the Serb Republic's interests," Vuksanovic told a news conference.

Commenting on the adoption of the Law on Yugoslav Citizenship, he said that the ruling party does not want to tackle the problem of Serb refugees in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and that "it is politicizing this problem in a very brutal way, which means that it is afraid of the refugees' political will." [passage omitted]

Asked about a possible boycott of the upcoming elections, Vuksanovic said that this was still an option, and a final decision will depend on an agreement to be reached among opposition parties on a minimum of conditions necessary for the elections to be held.

Serbia: SRS Condemns U.S. 'Arm-Twisting' in Karadzic Resignation

AU1907204096 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1848 GMT 19 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 19 Jul—Vojislav Seselj, president of the Serbian Radical Party [SRS], condemned the "United States' arm-twisting diplomacy because their extraction of Serb Republic [RS] President Radovan Karadzic's resignation represents the culmination of the shameful anti-Serb hysteria of the so-called international community." [passage omitted]

Seselj also said that U.S. negotiator Richard Holbrooke "had someone to pressure in Belgrade" and that the Radicals "are not at all surprised that President Slobodan Milosevic, after a series of betrayals, is the Americans' best ally and mediator for removing the RS president from all public functions."

Serbia: SDS Leader Comments on Karadzic Resignation

AU1907205396 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1847 GMT 19 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 19 Jul—Jovan Glamocanin, president of the Radical Party Nikola Pasic, said today that Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic's full resignation from political and public life "will not harm Serb national interests."

"The Serb Democratic Party [SDS] has other people who will be capable of carrying out the duty of president," Glamocanin told the press conference.

He added that all of the international community's pressures so far have not succeeded in breaking the SDS leadership and the party in general and have not led to "disorientation."

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However, Glamocanin said that Karadzic had "made many concessions, and it is the Serb Republic's and not the international community's business what his position will be."

Serbia: JUL Sees 'Normalization' With Karadzic 'Withdrawal'

AU1907205096 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1847 GMT 19 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 19 July (BETA)—Vladimir Stambuk, president of the Yugoslav Left [JUL] committee for international policy and cooperation, assessed today that the withdrawal of Radovan Karadzic from the political and public life in the Serb Republic "will facilitate the normalization of the situation in Bosnia and allow equal participation of all parties in the coming elections." [passage omitted]

He said that "all those who are obstructing the realization of the free elections should give up political and public activity for the benefit of the citizens of the Serb Republic, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and FRY." Stambuk said that "JUL hopes that structural changes in the leaderships of both entities will take place in the 14 September elections in Bosnia and that not the nationalist but the democratic and left-oriented forces will win." [passage omitted]

Serbia: SPO Hails Karadzic Resignation From Politics

AU1907203096 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1848 GMT 19 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 19 Jul—Ivan Kovacevic, spokesman of the Serbian Renewal Movement [SPO], said today that Radovan Karadzic's resignation from political and public life in the Serb Republic was "good for the Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Serb Democratic Party [SDS]."

"The upcoming elections in Bosnia would otherwise not have been democratic and free, and they would not have been fair if the SDS could not participate," Kovacevic told BETA.

Serbia: Opposition Parties Comment on Karadzic Departure

AU1907204996 Belgrade BETA in Serbo-Croatian 1848 GMT 19 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Podgorica, 19 Jul (BETA)—The leaders of the five Serbian and Montenegrin opposition parties today gave different assessments of Radovan Karadzic's decision to step down from all state and political functions and withdraw from public life.

At a joint news conference after the meeting in Podgorica, Novak Kilibarda, president of the People's Party of Montenegro, recalled Slobodan Milosevic's statement that "Serbia shall not bow," and said that Milosevic "is bowing before the international community not only on his knees but all the way to the ground."

"I knew that the moment Mr. Holbrooke arrived Milosevic would sign everything that was demanded of him. The People's Party recognizes the Hague tribunal, and we have long said that Karadzic should have gone to The Hague and proved his innocence in a democratic legal procedure for the sake of his people and because—to our knowledge—there is no evidence that he is truly a war criminal," Kilibarda said.

Serbian Renewal Movement President Vuk Draskovic said he hailed today's outcome of events, as the FRY and the Serb Republic would otherwise have been faced with new sanctions, and the Serbian Democratic Party would have been excluded from the elections in Bosnia.

"Had this happened the Yugoslav Left and the Socialist Party of Serbia would have had the advantage in the elections, which would have been fatal for the Serbian people," Draskovic added.

Democratic Party leader Zoran Djindjic voiced hope that Karadzic's withdrawal from political life was the last of the international community's demands, as otherwise the Serbs in Bosnia would be placed in an unequal position.

"It will be interesting to observe how the negotiations on the second part of the Holbrooke package on the internal Serbian issues will proceed, namely, whether Milosevic will agree to the division of Kosovo and the emancipation of Sandzak as an autonomous unit, which are definitely among the new conditions presented to the Serbian authorities, that is, to Milosevic," Djindjic said.

Democratic Party Vice President Vladan Batic said that Karadzic's departure should not be viewed dramatically "because the international community insists more on the form than on the contents."

"It is clear now why Milosevic is the key man of the West in the Balkans, and that the international community still needs him. Nobody fulfills the demands of the international community as he does," Batic said.

Serbian Civic Alliance President Vesna Pesic recalled that this party has maintained from the very beginning that Milosevic pursued "an altogether grotesque policy toward the Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia, which is now perfectly obvious."

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Serbia: Businessmen Encouraged To Strengthen Mideast Ties

LD2107125496 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1148 GMT 21 Jul 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Jul 21 (TANJUG)—Serbia's economic representatives urge a stepped-up promotion of economic cooperation between Yugoslavia and Mid-East countries.

Serbia's chamber of economy vice president Momir Pavlicevic and Yugoslav charge d'affaires for the region covering Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Oman, Bahrain and Qatar Milorad Sredojevic met Friday with representatives of big Yugoslav companies.

It was set out in the talk that Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Oman, Bahrain and Qatar are an important transit region of particular interest to Yugoslav exporters of meat and food products, construction companies and the Yugoslav Airlines JAT.

Montenegro

Montenegro: 'Satisfaction' With Greek Relations Stated

LD2007051596 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2326 GMT 19 Jul 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Podgorica, Yugoslavia, July 19 (TANJUG)—Montenegro's parliament speaker and Greece's ambassador in Belgrade expressed in Podgorica on Friday satisfaction with the establishment of cooperation between the Montenegrin and Greek parliaments.

A statement quoted speaker Svetozar Marovic and Ambassador Panayiotis Vlasopoulos as saying that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Federation of Serbia and Montenegro) and Greece had a tradition of good relations.

They stressed the need for intensifying cultural and economic ties between the two nations, the statement added.

The Greek diplomat said that political, economic and cultural cooperation between Podgorica, Belgrade and Athens contributed to peace and progress in the Balkans and the chances of the region's states joining the European Union.

He said that Greece was interested in Montenegrin legislation in the field of privatisation and conditions for the operation of foreign companies.

Montenegro: Opposition Forms National Salvation Coalition

LD1807124096 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1013 GMT 18 Jul 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Podgorica, 18 Jul (SRNA)—Deputies of three opposition parties—the People's Party, the Liberal Alliance of Montenegro, and the Social Democratic Party—walked out of a session of the Montenegrin parliament last night because the Democratic Party of Socialists [DPS] did not withdraw a draft law on elections dividing Montenegro into 14 electoral units.

Sessions of the Montenegrin Assembly will therefore be attended by 46 deputies of the ruling party and eight deputies of the Serbian Radical Party of Montenegro.

"Motivated by the desire to stay in power, the ruling party has led Montenegro to a catastrophic situation; it has managed to do the impossible—to unite parties of diametrically opposed ideologies and political programs, such as the People's Party and the Liberal Alliance," Novak Kilibarda, chairman of the People's Party of Montenegro, said.

The three opposition parties have announced the setting up of a coalition of national salvation to contest the upcoming elections in November. Vojislav Seselj's Serbian Radical Party, the Party of Democratic Action of Montenegro, and the Democratic Alliance of Albanians have been invited to join the coalition.

The principles of their joint program are: denationalization, privatization, a professional army and police, free media, and preparation of democratic elections for next year. [passage omitted]

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